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Evangelical transformations: A historical study of the Community Covenant Church of Missoula Montana

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EVANGELICAL TRANSFORMATIONS:
A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE
COMMUNITY COVENANT CHURCH
OF MISSOULA, MONTANA

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Evangelical Transformations: A Historical Study of the Community Covenant Church of Missoula, Montana (212 pp.)

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The purpose of this study was to examine various historical trends of Christianity in America, and to reveal how they relate to developments in Evangelical Christianity during the 1960's, as exemplified in the case study of renewal in the Community Covenant Church of Missoula, Montana. Attention was given to the development of various religious sub-cultures within evangelicalism. Particular attention is given to the clash between various factions in the Missoula congregation and its consequences.

Missoula was the site of enthusiastic religious renewal and subsequent conflict amid the rise of a trans-denominational neo-pentecostalism in a time of massive social unrest. The Covenant Church played a significant role in the Missoula renewal, and its own struggle is worth scrutiny. A question probed has been whether healthier local church life had been initiated, even as a result of conflict and adversity. The conclusion presented is that it was not only healthier but that the struggle also produced an ecumenical evangelical congregation.

Research was conducted in a wide range of secondary source materials dealing with the American and European development of evangelicalism, spanning several centuries. The heart of the case study research was oral history conducted through taped interviews which then were transcribed.

The historical measure of various religious awakenings within Christianity is the impact upon the larger society: whether the movement produced a lasting, positive effect or only served to reinforce social prejudices. The thesis establishes that this local movement was part of a larger, national phenomenon, which had many parallels in modern church history. But the conclusion reached is that the pattern in the Missoula Covenant Church deviated from the historical pattern of spawning greater sectarianism. The judgement as to its deeper impact upon American society must be reserved to a future decade.

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I leave the last word for my wife, Laurie, whose support and affirmation has been un-ceasing not only this past year, but in the interveening six years.

INTRODUCTION

"When you see the ark of the covenant of the Lord, your God...you must break camp and follow it, that you may know the way to go, for you have not passed this way before."

Joshua 3.4b

The winter of 1970 witnessed a dramatic turning point in the religious climate of Missoula, Montana. A revival of Christian enthusiasm, called the Charismatic Renewal, had begun which would transform irrevocably a small evangelical congregation. That revival produced a powerful clash between two groups of people holding two different sets of religious values, underscoring the generation gap in the American society at the end of the 1960's. This study will examine several currents within American Evangelical Christianity as they were reflected in the revival conflict of the Community Covenant Church of Missoula.

In order to discern the substance of the renewal in the Covenant Church we need to see that the clash was between a dominant evangelical sub-culture [1.] and an emerging counter-culture, which was "radically disaffiliated from the mainstream assumptions of our society."[2.] The main subject is the effect upon that congregation of a broad Christian revival which involved several hundred young people in Missoula, how that local church attempted to assimilate the converts drawn to its doors, and what changes resulted within the membership.

A three-fold development occurred within the local church, which left the majority of older members disaffected and alienated. The three prime forces were: 1) the Charismatic or neo-pentecostal influence; 2) a strong drive for the church to become an extended family,[3.] where the institutional organization was secondary to the fostering of the

community; and 3) the infusion of large numbers from the youth counter-culture. The consequences of the conflict were that most of the older members left the church, and the reins of responsibility passed into the hands of the newer, neo-pentecostal majority. This reversed an historical pattern in which a pentecostal influence would usually be driven from a non-pentecostal congregation. Yet the result characterized the trend of neo-pentecostalism within the United States as it emerged in the 1960's.

The religious matrix in the United States has undergone complex changes since 1960. While non-Christian religions have flourished, Evangelical Christianity has thrived, aided by the rise of the neo-pentecostal renewal. One significant dimension of this renewal is that it has reinforced existing Christian traditions through a strongly ecumenical emphasis.

Throughout the history of Christianity fresh stirrings of religious excitement often have produced new sects and eventually distinct denominations when an overriding central authority was lacking. New movements have separated when an existing order was ill-prepared either to embrace the ideas or contain them, just as the Wesleyan revival spawned a separation from the Church of England. Where an ecclesiastical hierarchy has been able to communicate with a new development, it has often been able to incorporate that vitality into the existing structure, such as the Roman Catholic Church did with the Franciscan friars.

Revival movements, or spiritual renewals, have had great effects beyond the Church. Sometimes these fresh winds of spirituality have been localized; other times they have broken out into broad developments which flashed suddenly upon a society's consciousness and then disappeared leaving little tangible trace. In other periods spiritual

movements have deeply affected the state of the secular society, even transforming it beyond recognition.

In this century religious activities have not remained isolated very long because of the sophistication of communication techniques. Thus, movements in the United States have had a much more international impact in the Twentieth Century than they did in the Nineteenth. This is exemplified by the rapid growth of pentecostalism throughout the world in the early decades of this century. But while the phenomenon has been duplicated, the resulting shapes and directions have varied considerably. For example, classic pentecostalism in Brazil has devoted considerably more attention to the social and economic conditions of the people than pentecostalism in the United States.[4.]

The revival of American Evangelical Christianity which began in the 1960's could either produce much visibility but little content, or leave deep channels within the character of American political, social and economic structures. It will be important to see the relationship of this local revival to historical currents within evangelicalism.

Missoula was certainly distant from the mainstream of political and religious controversies which unfolded in the sixties. Yet, through the influence of the University of Montana, the city was a cultural and social center in the American Northwest. In that environment the Community Covenant Church underwent dynamic change in a few years, as Missoulians adjusted to the stormy climate of the late sixties.

A background is essential in viewing the events in Missoula, since the local movement reflected both the larger national revival and broader developments of church history in the United States. The historical background is necessarily selective. Since the church

community under study is part of the Evangelical Covenant denomination--which emerged from a revival within Swedish Lutheranism--the roots of that denomination will be examined. Its foundation exhibited the clash between a renewal movement and a dominant religious culture. Further attention will be given to aspects of the American evangelical culture into which the revived Swedish immigrants came, and their adaptation to it. Evangelicalism, as will be seen, is a vast and complex subject involving social, political, and intellectual history.

The core of research for this subject has been interviews with both members and former members of the Missoula Covenant Church. Especially important have been the discussions with the senior pastor, Dan Simmons, who is in his twelfth year at the church. Oral history can be an awkward and rough means of research. I have tried to verify, as fully as possible, assertions which involved the controversy and the climate surrounding it. I have tried, as well, to balance claims of each individual's role in the events by obtaining several different perspectives. All interviews, except for short conversations and one brief interview, were taped and later transcribed. Where quotes have been used I have tried to place them in the context of the interview.

This study is confined to the dynamics of the Missoula Covenant Church's transformation process during a few short years and the emergence within that local church of a religious counter-culture. We will largely ignore the stabilization in the church of the new majority after 1970, and the detailed process of this counter-culture evolving into a new sub-culture, which was both evangelical and catholic [5.] in temperament.

Where there has been authentic revival within Christianity there has been a quality of life, a vitality which has continued to touch the yearnings of the human spirit. Dietrich Bonhoeffer once wrote:[6.]

> Revival of church life always brings in its train a richer understanding of the Scriptures. Behind all the slogans and catchwords of ecclesiastical controversy, necessary though they are, there arises a more determined quest for him who is the sole object of it all, for Jesus Christ himself.

The "quest" of a people is as important for human history as the organizational forms, or the political and economic changes they effect. What we will be following in examining this local movement in one small congregation is the way in which a group of people-- while at odds-- attempted to respond to the person of Jesus Christ.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

1. Milton Gordon has defined sub-culture as a cultural sub-division which forms a distinct, functioning unity with "an integrated impact on particular individuals." Milton M. Gordan, "The Concept of the Sub-Culture and its Application," Social Forces, XXVI (October, 1947): p. 40.

2. Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1969), p. 42; definition of counter-culture.

3. Extended family simply means the broader expression of family relationships beyond the nuclear family--of husband, wife, children--in grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins. The emphasis upon family and community within the Christian renewal in America of the 1970's is not extended family so much in the literal sense of blood relationships, as the figurative sense of the Church serving that role to be an extended family to its members. This has been the teaching among numerous teachers, both charismatic and Radical Evangelicals, through much of the 1970's, and became an integral part of the Missoula Community Covenant Church's life.

4. See interview with Brazilian Pentecostalist, Manoel de Mallo, in "Bread and Gospel: Affirming a Total Faith," Christian Century, (December 25, 1974), pp. 1223-1226.

5. Catholic is used here not as a proper noun, i.e. "Roman Catholic," but in its original sense of universal outlook which is intentionally non-sectarian. It must authentically involve an appreciation of the broad, traditional threads within Christendom, while acknowledging their distinct differences. In catholicity, however, the differences are appreciated in terms of the richness they offer, and not as a source of division.

6. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship 2d. ed. (NY: Macmillan Co., 1961), p. 37.

PART I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I

SWEDISH AND AMERICAN ORIGINS

"In You our fathers trusted;
they trusted, and You delivered them.
To You they cried, and they escaped." (Ps. 22.5-6)

The Community Covenant Church of Missoula, Montana, is a member of the Evangelical Covenant Church of America. The denomination was formally organized in 1885 as the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant. It was an aggregate of immigrant congregations which emerged from Nineteenth Century revival movements in Sweden. Its heritage was predominantly Lutheran. The Church has defined its existence as rooted in historical Christianity through the Protestant Reformation and the doctrinal teachings of the Swedish Lutheran Church, while finding direct affinity with the Swedish revival. It has noted the value of the historic confessions of the Christian Church, yet emphasized the sovereignty of holy scriptures over all interpretations. Lutheran pietism has been acknowledged for its fresh perspective on justification by grace, along with a New Testament emphasis upon personal faith in Jesus Christ and fellowship of believers. The Covenant has recognized two sacraments for the Church: baptism and the Lord's Supper.[1.]

In the period before the Nineteenth Century, two religious movements are significant in examining the Missoula Covenant Church. The pietism inspired by the German pastor, Jacob Spener,[2.] is important for the introduction of "conventicles," or voluntary groups within the Lutheran churches, where believers, under the guidance of a pastor or teacher, could pray, study God's word, and stimulate the personal piety of one another. This tradition was opposed to sectarianism, stressing

the allegiance to the one Church while assisting the personal growth of believers.

The second movement, which was more effective in Sweden than Spener's more staid pietism, was the "Herrnhut,"[3] introduced by Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf in the second quarter of the Eighteenth Century. One central reason for the effectiveness of Zinzendorf's teaching was the emphasis upon joy in the Christian life. The Herrnhuter, or Moravian pietists, utilized small groups call ecclesiolae. Where the pietism of Spener stressed the anguish of repentance and the duty of following Christ, the Herrnhuters emphasized the joy of forgiveness which can transform a person through Christ's completed work.

Zinzendorf's writings were widely popular in the Eighteenth Century. Part of his popularity has been linked to his stress upon Lutheran theology whereas the older piety of Spener drew heavily upon Reformed theology. In Sweden the reverence for Luther corresponded to that for the New Testament writers.[4]

The ecclesiolae produced a warm atmosphere through their celebration of the Christian life, and was similar to the New Testament emphasis upon koinonia fellowship, which likened the Church to family and community. This contrasted with the pietists' conventicles which consisted of meetings for study and prayer. Both movements helped to revive the state Lutheran Church in Sweden during the Eighteenth Century, largely because they fortified the parish structure of church life. Sweden was still an agrarian society without a significant transient population.

The Nineteenth Century, however, was characterized by the complexities of a mobile, industrial society. Sweden entered the century with a burgeoning population and not enough land to support it. This produced

an extremely mobile, proletarian class and an urban-oriented society. The Swedes, in a society moving from an agrarian order to an industrial one, experienced rootlessness and complex problems which the older pietism with its close-knit parishes could not solve. Anonymity and joblessness brought extensive despair, which resulted in an alarming increase of social diseases such as alcoholism.[5]

Temperance movements were begun in the 1830's cooperatively by Herrnhuters and other pietist leaders. English and American temperance churchmen came to assist, and they introduced Anglo-American revivalism. This foreign movement, which arose mainly in America through the efforts of men such as Charles Finney, placed great emphasis upon an immediate -- and often dramatic -- conversion.[6] It rapidly touched the emancipated classes in Sweden with its pragmatic and energetic tone. Further, it answered the insecurity of the masses with a highly individualistic religion, equating conversion with salvation. This contrasted with the older, Lutheran piety.

Pietism and revivalism intertwine both as contrasts and compliments throughout this study of the Covenant Church in Missoula. The renewal which the church experienced in the late 1960's corresponds much more directly with the Moravian piety which focused the converts and older members upon a revitalization of close community life. This contrasted with American revival techniques refined in the Nineteenth Century and utilized extensively in Twentieth Century evangelicalism. Yet there are similarities between the spiritual awakening at the end of the 1960's in America and earlier American massive revival movements. These similarities and differences will be examined more closely as the study unfolds.

C. O. Rosenius[7]; one of the earliest leaders of revivalism in Sweden, was interested in reviving Lutheranism and had no interest in separatist actions against the Church of Sweden. The revival he helped shape adapted Anglo-American methods onto the Swedish pietist tradition. The massive numbers of people who experienced revival, however, were no longer accountable to a parish priest. Printed materials, or tracts, widely used by revivalists, appealed to the individuality of a people who were becoming literate. The social and political unrest of continental Europe, especially during the 1840's, stimulated free thought and actions independent of tradition. Hence, among the laity the authority of both state and church were challenged.

Swedes in the lay societies questioned the authenticity of clergy whose depth of faith they doubted and the validity of receiving communion from them. Through the increase of literacy they felt less dependent upon clergy and the church structure for interpreting scripture for them.

Evangelical Lutherans countered by forming the Swedish Evangelical National Foundation in 1856[8]; which was intended to bring evangelistic activities into greater conformity with the Lutheran faith. However, the laity -- who since the 1840's had been forming volunteer mission societies independent of the Church -- preferred to decide their own course.

The result was that Anglo-American revivalism fed the disasociation of increasing numbers of people from state Lutheranism and the formation of looser organizational and non-confessional structures. The Swedish Mission Covenant[9] was formed in 1878 from among these non-confessional Lutherans.

The mission societies, developing from the erosion of the close-knit parish-communities, placed central emphasis upon individual belief in Jesus Christ, the central authority of scripture, and welcomed those as members who had been baptized either as infants or as adults. The conversion experience bound these people closely together and alienated them from Lutherans who had no dramatic experience. These societies, remaining largely independent of any parent body, contained a great number of the immigrants who came to the United States after the American Civil War.

The migration of millions of Europeans to America from the Eighteenth into the Twentieth Century has been called by Richard Niebuhr, "one of the major phenomena of world history, comparable, in a sense, to the tremendous migrations which marked the end of the ancient world and the beginning of North European civilization."[10] The American political experiment encouraged religious competition on a level previously unimaginable in human history. The United States provided a unique religious climate in which widely diverse religious groups could develop and flourish.

Niebuhr has written about the unique assimilation of the Scandinavian immigrants.[11] Unlike Central Europeans who came in various waves spread out over a century-and-a-half, Scandinavian migration was confined to roughly the fifty years between the ending of the American Civil War and the outbreak of the First World War.[12] Thus, the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish immigrants came as a more religiously and culturally homogeneous group than their continental counterparts.

The peak of Swedish immigration came in the period 1881-1890, with over 300,000 entering the United States in the decades after the publi-

cation in Sweden of the U. S. Homestead Act. of 1862. Those with a religious disposition identified themselves with Swedish Lutheran churches in America. The pioneer pastors who came after the civil war were deeply affected by the spiritual awakening in the old country, and were inclined to cooperate with non-Lutheran groups, as was often necessary on the frontier. But the vast majority opted for the more formal, confessional churches patterned after the conservative, state model. The pressure for this came largely from the early immigrants themselves who wanted the stability of the old ways, and were threatened by the more ecumenical and liberal flavor of many American Lutherans. The Swedes were not alone in their inclination, because they were joined by the confessional liturgy-style of the other North European Lutheran immigrants.

Mixed in with these confessionally-oriented Swedes, and increasingly more so after 1870, were those who had been nurtured by both the older, Herrnhut piety and the newer revivalism. These people, while entering the Swedish Lutheran churches upon arrival, wanted either the conventicles or the mass revival meetings they had known in Sweden. They were met by suspicion and hostility because of their untraditional and seemingly radical inclinations. Freer forms were resisted in both the more staid Lutheran churches and synodical policy. Thus, beginning in the late 1860's, some mission revivalists broke away to form independent congregations.

The formation of mission congregations followed the pattern set in Sweden. The revived believers joined together in a "covenant," or pact, for mutual help and discipline, united through their mutual experience of salvation through Jesus Christ. Such as association corresponded to

the sectarian definition outlined by Ernst Thoeltsch at the turn of this century.[13] A "sect" emphasizes the individual religious experience and the priesthood of believers, thereby rejecting an official clergy, trusting lay inspiration and enthusiasm over the sophisticated theology of established divinity schools.

The move from loose covenant to distinct denomination was heightened by the need for lay ministry credentials. The Chicago Mission Society, in 1870, initiated this step and acted as a parent church by issuing ministerial licenses for congregational leaders to comply with Illinois legal requirements to perform marriages.[14] This, however, did not constitute scriptural ordination for the more orthodox believers.

Ordination by apostolic succession began for the Mission Covenant with the ordination of four lay Swedish pastors by the Northern Illinois Lutheran Synod, a part of the larger General Lutheran Synod of America. This action was influenced by a maverick Danish-American pastor, Charles Anderson.[15] This dynamic leader tried to draw the Mission Friends into the fold of the General Synod, which was itself undergoing tremendous wrenching during the post-civil war immigration period. His effort failed for various reasons, but most important because of the increased migration of non-confessional Swedish revivalists with their laicized free societies. These were settling mostly in the Chicago-Twin Cities region.

The dominant Lutheran body by the 1870's was the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The Council had been formed by conservative Lutherans from a split in 1867 within the General Synod. The latter had comprised two-thirds of the American Lutherans in 1860, but came to be dominated by a liberal wing which became suspect to immigrant

Lutherans because of its ecumenical involvement and cultural heterogeneity. One ironic feature of the liberal wing was that many of its member churches required conversion for church membership, as distinct from the tradition of membership through infant baptism.[16.]

By 1870 the General Synod was struggling for existence amidst a sea of immigrants. One of the branches affiliated with the General Synod was the Synod of Northern Illinois. This body was mainly composed of the newly arriving Scandinavian Lutherans, until a segment of conservative Lutherans revolted in 1860 and formed what they believed to be the more traditionally pure Scandinavian, Augustana Synod.[17.] After the civil war the multitude of Scandinavian Lutheran immigrants flocked to this synod.[18.] Here sound doctrine dominated religious experience in shaping the synod's style. Hence, it affiliated in 1867 with the newly-formed General Council. Swedish Lutherans dominated the synod by 1870, and the Norwegians left to form their own body.

The Augustana Synod was dominated by old-style pietists and Rosenian revivalists, who in the main strictly adherred to synodical standards. Those who had known the close fellowship of the mission societies and who called themselves Mission Friends were received by the older pietists of the Augustana with ambivalence. A mission society was organized in 1867 and followed in 1868 with the formation of the first Mission Covenant congregation in America.[18.] Their reception by the older members of the synod is relevant to this study because there are similarities between the ambivalence toward the Mission Friends in the Augustana and the ambivalence of older members toward the new converts which flooded the Missoula Covenant Church in the late 1960's. The formation of the mission

societies led to specific expulsion of members from Augustana churches.

Some congregations dominated by Mission Friends withdrew from the Augustana Synod and formed the Angsgar Synod in 1874, and then others formed the Mission Synod, in 1878.[19] Many Mission Friends were dissatisfied with Augustana's policy and perceived the North Illinois Synod as being considerably more democratic in format. It was to such elements that the Lutheran minister, Charles Anderson, appealed. He assisted the formation of the Angsgar Synod, and persuaded the North Illinois Synod to ordain four lay pastors from mission societies.[20] His plan was to bolster the faltering General Lutheran Synod by the eventual inclusion of Swedish Mission Friends in the Synod of Northern Illinois. He failed largely because of successive waves of immigrants with a non-creedal orientation and because of the dynamic new phase of American revivalism developed by D.L. Moody and his Swedish-American counterpart, E. K. Skogsbergh.[21]

Karl Olsson, Covenant historian, has articulated roughly three separate factions in these more independent congregations which emerged between 1878 and 1885. The right wing was composed of Lutheran pietist stalwarts who disapproved of a theologically trained clergy; the center was composed of activitists wanting to copy the emerging Mission Covenant in Sweden, while adapting to the new American environment; and the left wing was heavily influenced by post-civil war millenial revivalism and vehemently anti-denominational.[22]

The interaction of these three groups precipitated the dissolution of the Lutheran Angsgar and Mission Synods through intense bickering. The spark was the withdrawal of the left wing when the others refused

to embrace their anti-synodical definition of church policy. This faction formed its own loose federation, the Evangelical Free Church, in October, 1884.

The Angsgar Synod formally dissolved in June, 1885, with most of its members entering into a covenant with the center faction of the Mission Synod. Together they formed, in February, 1885, the independent, Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America.[23] Their organization was similar to a Lutheran synod, in that its structure was representative with policy determined by the properly selected delegates to the annual conference of the Covenant. That legislative body contained the authority to confer ministerial ordination, upon the recommendation of the ministerium. Regional churches were divided into "conferences," following the synod model, with a superintendent whose role corresponded to a bishop. The Free Church, in contrast, allowed its annual conference no such authority, since it was an organization of individuals, not of churches; ordination was in the hands of the local church. It had no regional structure and no supervisory authority.

While the Swedish Covenant rejected the Lutheran hermeneutic, and stood upon scripture alone as the only "perfect rule for faith, doctrine, and conduct," it retained through confederation, the richness and diversity of Swedish piety.[24] The right wing relinquished its opposition to theological education for the ministerium, and an offer by the American Congregationalists to establish a Swedish department at the Chicago Theological Seminary was accepted. It has been observed that the Mission Covenant was a compromise between congregationalism and presbyterianism.[25] This is an accurate analogy in viewing the struc-

ture of the denomination and organization of the local churches.

It is noteworthy that, in fact, the Congregationalists seeking to expand their ranks with northern European immigrants after the civil war, began to recruit the Swedish Mission Friends into the American Congregational Union in the 1880's.[26] They had the financial resources which the agrarian and proletarian Swedes needed. Most important, they provided the ministerial training at the Chicago seminary for the Mission Friends until they chose to start their own school in 1894, which became North Park College.

The courtship between the Friends and the Congregationalists continued until the turn of the century, and the financial aid, which facilitated the building of churches, educating of both pastors and missionaries, and the funding of missions abroad and ethnic publications, continued until 1910. However, as the two grew closer together, striking disparities became apparent; these differences were basically theological and social. Financial independence unexpectedly emerged in the early years of the new century, which bolstered attempts to retain Covenant independence. The denomination received an endowment from wealth derived in a missionary's successful purchase of a gold mine in Alaska's gold rush of the 1890's. The identity of the Covenant asserted itself, especially when theological differences appeared insurmountable. Yet in 1906, 106 Covenant congregations identified themselves with the Congregational Union, as Swedish Congregationalists.[27] Later we will see how this has bearing upon the subject of this history.

It is necessary now to examine distinct elements within American evangelicalism as they emerged in the Nineteenth Century and developed

in the Twentieth. This theological overview can provide us with insight into the historical makeup of the Covenant Church in Missoula, as well as enable us to understand better the forces at work during the renewal and conflict which emerged at the conclusion of the 1960's.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

1. See the preamble to the Evangelical Covenant Church of America constitution, revised 1957, as stated in the Covenant Yearbook: 1977 (Chicago: Evangelical Covenant Church of America), p. 318.

2. Read the "Proposals to Correct Conditions in the Church," in Philipp Jacob Spener's Pia Desideria (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964; it originally appeared in 1675). The standard modern abridgement in German is in Hauptschriften Philipp Jakob Speners, Paul Grunberg, ed. Vol. XXI of the Bibliothek theologischer Klassiker (Goths: F.A. Perthes, 1889). The definitive biography of Spener is Grunberg's, 3 volumes (Gottingen, 1893-1906).

Certain works pertinent to this study, regarding pietism and its relationship to the rise of evangelicalism are: Ernst Stoeffler, The Rise of Evangelical Pietism (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965); E. Linderholm, Sven Rosen och hans insats i frihetstidens radikala pietism (Uppsala, Sweden, circa 1911); and John T. McNeill, Modern Christian Movements (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954).

3. The term, Herrnhut, came from the village Zinzendorf constructed for the Brethren refugees from Moravia on his estate in Berthelsdorf.

4. Zinzendorf himself noted distinctions between Spenerian pietism and that of the Moravians under his spiritual teaching:

> "The former generally has his misery constantly before his eyes and looks only for his needed justification to the wounds of Jesus; the latter has the ongoing atonement and the blood of Christ constantly before his eyes, and only now and then for needful humiliation casts a glance at his misery." Hilding Pleijel, Herrnhutismen i Sydsverige (Stockholm, 1925).

This is quoted by the American Covenant historian, and former dean of North Park Theological Seminary in Chicago, Karl A. Olsson, in his magnificent history, By One Spirit; a History of the Evangelical Covenant Church of America (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962), p. 651. This was the central source used throughout this study for the Swedish origins of the Covenant Church. Another important, though dated work is George M. Stephenson, The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932).

5. Olsson, p. 40.

6. William McLoughlin, in examining American revival theology, has noted that the Second Awakening, of the early national period, continued

a trend begun in the eighteenth century Great Awakening of revising the concept and purpose of the ministerial office from that of pastor to soul-winner. Further, in contrast to European models, the theology stressed "emotional, devotional, and ascetic qualities of religion in preference to the intellectual, the ritualistic, and the ethical." Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham (NY: Ronald Press Co., 1959), p. 8, 13.

Indeed, the central question was, "are you saved?" and salvation and conversion were blurred into one.

Finney's revival techniques are best exhibited in his collected, Lectures on Revivals of Religion (New York, 1835); also edited by McLoughlin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960). Perry Miller has called it "the key exposition of the movement, and so a major work in the history of the mind in America." Life of the Mind in America (NY: Harcourt, Brace, World, Inc., Harvest Books, 1965).

A brilliant study of regional American revivalism is Whitney R. Cross, The Burnt-Over District (NY: Harper and Row, 1965), examining religious enthusiasm in Western New York in the early national period. Revival methodology and its impact upon Sweden in the 1840's is considered by Dwight Nelson, "Listening to the Traditions of our Heritage," Covenant Quarterly, Vol. 33 (February, 1975): 31 ff. as well as Olsson's definitive consideration, p. 42 ff.

7. Rosenius was the key transitional figure in the 1840's. He was raised in the Herrnhut tradition, but was drawn into revivalism through the influence of the English Wesleyan, George Scott. He remained staunchly tied to State Lutheranism and employed in revivalist circles the conventicle mode of piety. See Olsson, op. cit., pp. 48-58 ff. for the origins of Rosenian piety; and Olaf Severn Olson, "Civil Religion and Christianity in Sweden," Covenant Quarterly, Vol. 33 (May, 1975) 3 ff.

8. Olsson, p. 78 ff., for the founding of the society. Rosenius was a bulwark of the Foundation.

9. Stephenson, and Olsson, p. 96. The catalyst for the formation of the Mission Covenant was the theological controversy surrounding Paul Peter Waldenstrom, an ordained Lutheran pastor. Waldenstrom rejected the Lutheran dogma regarding the atonement, because he did not see the sacrifice of Christ as effecting change in God's heart, but rather in man's. For a brilliant theological history of this issue, see Christus Victor, by the Swedish Lutheran theologian, Gustaf Aulen, (NY: Macmillan, 1969; copyright 1931). What was significant was that Waldenstrom antagonized the prevailing Rosenian piety of the Foundation, and produced a split in a shaky coalition between confessional evangelicals and Anglo-American revivalists. The effects were to be significant in America, as will be discussed later.

10. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (Henry

Holt and Co., 1929), pp. 200-201.

11. Ibid., p. 216; also in "The Protestant Movement and Democracy in the United States," The Shaping of American Religion, 2 volumes, James W. Smith and Leland Jamason, eds. (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 53.

12. Olsson, pp. 180-181; Stephenson, loc. cit.; also Forence E. Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931).

13. Ernst Troeltsche, Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, 2 volumes, Olive Wyon, tr. (NY: Macmillan, 1931; German edition, 1911); note particularly pp. 993-998.

14. Olsson, pp. 226-227. This separatist action was precipitated by the act in March, 1870 of the Chicago Mission Society conducting its own communion, which was anathema to the Augustana Lutheran Synod with its tight ecclesiology.

15. Olsson, pp. 234-235. The apostolic succession began with J. M. Sanngren. For background on the career of Charles Anderson, see pp. 227 ff.

16. For general information and history see Henry Eyster Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States (Philip Schaff, et al, eds., The American Church History Series, IV, New York, 1893); A. R. Wentz, The Lutheran Church in American History (Philadelphia, 1933); William W. Sweet, The Story of Religion in America, (NY: Harper and Bros., 1950 rev. ed.), pp. 267-268 ff.; Lutheran Bodies in Frank Mead, Handbook of Denominations in the United States, 6th ed. (Nashville and NY: Abingdon Press, 1975); and a goldmine of information, the Special Report on Religious Bodies: 1906, published by the Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C.: 1910). See Olsson, p. 183 for practices of "liberal" Lutherans.

17. Augustana purposefully took its name from the core of its confessional tradition--the Augsburg Confession, of 1530, revised 1580. It is the chief standard of faith in the Lutheran churches. Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, F. L. Cross, ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 105. See Oscar N. Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: Pioneer Period, 1846-1860 (Rock Island, IL: 1950); Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform; American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (NY: Abingdon Press, 1957), pp. 55-59, for the social implications regarding confessional evangelicalism and revivalism, especially among the Swedes. See also Jacobs, and Olsson, "The Swedish Lutherans in America," pp. 179-196.

18. There was considerable competition in the United States for Swedish Lutheran bodies by Swedish Episcopalianism, American Methodism and the Baptists. See Olsson, pp. 126-129 ff.; and Stephenson, pp. 200-203 ff.

Swedish Episcopalianism was a strong force in Sweden early in the Nine-

teenth Century, and its central leader, Gustaf Unonius, worked for merger of State Lutheranism and the Anglican rite. It is interesting that today Anglicans and Lutherans in Sweden can share a common communion. It is ironic that an Episcopal priest, Graham Pulkingham, who has been a significant figure in charismatic renewal--and had an important impact upon the Missoula Covenant Church in the early 1970's--was conducting much mission work within Sweden, utilizing the joint communion, by the middle 1970's.

19. Special Report on Religious Bodies, p. 495; Stephenson; a detailed account of the origins and dissolution of the Angsgar and Mission Synods, as well as the unstable, Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Mission, instigated by Charles Anderson, is provided by Olsson, op. cit., in "Three Synodical Ventures." pp. 237-262.

20. Olsson, p. 235 ff.

21. Both Stephenson, and Olsson, pp. 259-262 cf., devote considerable attention to Skogsbergh, who was called the "Swedish Moody," first coined by the Minneapolis Tribune. Olsson has observed,

> "Skogsbergh's imitation of the style and methods of Dwight L. Moody is unmistakable. Not only did he personally seek out friendship of (Moody) and rejoice in the opportunity to carry out his ministry in the Moody Church, but the very character of his rhetoric, as well as his view of what constituted public worship, were clearly influenced by the great American evangelist." (p. 260)

22. Karl Olsson, A Family of Faith (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1975), pp. 33-36. This volume is a considerably reduced, popular history, condensed from Spirit.

23. Olsson, Spirit, pp. 291-292. The dissolution of the Angsgar was post facto; scheduled for May, 1885, it did not occur until the first of June. Its statement clearly called for association with the newly formed Mission Covenant. The Mission Synod was never formally dissolved.

24. Ibid, pp. 319-320; also pp. 213-224, for insight into the content of the tradition. Olsson says that Communion was a sacrament of grace, and approached consubstantially, in the Lutheran vein, p. 222.

25. Stephenson, p. 288. It is noteworthy that McLoughlin, Revivalism, p. 8, discussed the growth in nineteenth century America of "sectarian pietism (which) emphasizes the priesthood of all believers and, by elevating the laity at the expense of the clergy, it favors the congregational policy over the episcopalian." The Covenant intentionally tried to avoid the extremism of congregationalism, as manifested by the Free Church, by reserving ordination to the Ministerium and the church delegates at the annual meeting.

26. Olsson, Spirit, pp. 334-346.

27. A. P. Nelson, History of the Swedish Mission Friends in America (Minneapolis, 1906), though because of his decidedly partisan position, he is weak as a single source. However, Olsson, Spirit, p. 338 cf., notes at least 5,000 confirmed Swedish Congregationalists by 1900. The 1906, Census Special Report makes no differentiation.

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE EVANGELICALISM

"You, for your part, must remain faithful
to what you have learned and believed,
because you know who your teachers were."
(II Timothy 3.14)

Evangelical is an elusive term, but for our purposes we will consider three general, interacting dimensions. Basically, an evangelical is one who heralds the good news of God's Kingdom through Jesus Christ. The term was used in the spiritual pilgrimage of individuals throughout the history of the Christian Church, but came to characterize the expression of individual faith in the rise of pietism subsequent to the Reformation. Evangelicalism began to be a distinct movement in the Eighteenth Century, notably in the awakening of Methodism, and then in distinct reaction against the excesses of neo-Calvinism during the Anglo-American revivalism of the early Nineteenth Century.[1.]

Traditionally, evangelicals have theologically held to the absolute authority of scriptures, denying the imposition of Church authority upon interpretation for the individual, and belief in the impending return of Christ. Preaching for evangelicals has been of utmost importance, since "faith comes by hearing (or preaching), and hearing by the Word of God."[2.] For evangelicals, Paul's rhetorical question, "how shall they hear without a preacher?"[3.] has always been important in their sense of mission. They also have generally, though not uniformly, tried to minimize liturgical worship. Two sacraments have usually been retained, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, though there have existed wide divergences in their form and meaning among evangelicals.

The three main groupings of American conservative evangelical Christianity are: (1) the millenial fundamentalists; (2) the confessional evangelicals; and (3) the neo-evangelicals, who arose in the 1940's largely in reaction to the anti-intellectualism of the fundamentalists.[4] Regarding the first, fundamentalism is a label which originated in the early part of this century, for reasons which will be discussed later. For convenience, we will refer to them during the Nineteenth Century as millenial evangelicals.

Millenial Fundamentalism. Millenialists,[5] beginning as early as the 1830's, exalted almost to pre-eminence, the evangelical belief in the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. Their values, actions and other beliefs were fashioned by it. The Nineteenth Century in American millenialism can be divided into two opposing periods. The early national period through the civil war was dominated by postmillenialism[6] with an enlightened social ethic; the post-civil war period was dominated by a reactionary premillenialism,[7] which fostered Twentieth Century fundamentalism and for almost the first half of the new century excluded evangelicalism from its pre-civil war social involvement. For evangelicals in the early decades of this century the social dimensions of the gospel were fearfully shunned because of their espousal by "apostate" liberals.

The social optimism in the American early national period influenced religious perspectives, especially the "New Methods" of revivalism expounded by leaders such as Charles Grandison Finney. This optimism fed the notion of postmillenialism which asserted that through the gospel of Jesus Christ and the transformation of people's hearts social conditions would improve until they reached perfection. When

the world had so advanced through the power of the Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ would return to reign in the transformed world order.

Frontier revivalism, reflecting a postmillenial viewpoint, contributed to various social and political movements. Abolition of slavery, temperance, anti-war and civil disobedience, women's rights, as well as sabbath blue laws and anti-gambling were movements which were either led by or received a vital impetus from evangelical Christians. These constituted, in Finney's and others' theology, the moral reform necessary in society to produce "Moral Government," which would then usher in the Kingdom of God on earth.[8] The dramatic tone of evangelicals demanding justice and equity in the pre-civil war period has been largely overlooked by American historians, and even more by Twentieth Century evangelicals.[9]

Many of the pre-civil war revivalist-reformers were strongly influenced by Enlightenment notions of progress, to the extent that men like Finney viewed industrialization and advancing American technology as God's gift to men in order to control and utilize nature. Martin Marty has said that this was thought to be the final stage of progress before the advent of the millenium.[10] This revival theology confronted the reigning Princeton theology, which was dominated by a pessimistic determinism.[11]

The civil war undercut the social optimism of the evangelical reformers. Their disillusionment developed in ways not unlike the disenchantment many in the 1960's youth movement experienced by the early 1970's, which blunted reform zeal. What was left were issues which they could translate into questions of personal morality--a far less grand design but certainly more manageable. Thus, the revival ethic began to

express itself in the 1870's in terms of a narrow formula of religious behavior, while the broad social dimensions of a civil Christian America rapidly faded.

The pre-war concept of a reformed world order was predominantly an Anglo-American one, stimulated by English political philosophy[12.] which found expression and, it seemed, fulfilment in the American experiment. The massive urbanization, fostered, in part, by the droves of immigrants seeking land and freedom from old world authority, and coupled with uncontrolled industrialization, consumed the Anglo-American revivalists' reform vision. Optimism and progressive social involvement gave way to pessimism and a retreat from positive confrontation with the world.

A new vision of eschatology began to emerge, premillenialism, which emphasized the tribulation which was descending upon humanity, but believed scriptures foretold the removal--or "rapture"--of the saints before the rapidly deteriorating world order was engulfed by demonic hosts.[13.] This was to occur before the dawn of the thousand year reign of Christ. Where the postmillenialists in the early national period saw reform action preparing the world for the millenium, the premillenialists viewed society as deteriorating until Christ's return. Some even saw such reform activity as delaying the necessary process of deterioration (just as later, international revolutionaries saw social reforms as only a delay to the inevitable revolution in capitalist society).

This retreat of evangelicals was intensified by the rise of biblical criticism[14.] and the attack by secular science upon scriptural creation accounts. Evangelicalism began to retreat with an altered eschatology, preaching escape from a reprobate world. This eschatology was projected in the post-war period by evangelists like Dwight L. Moody, and signifi-

cantly shaped the environment into which Swedish immigrants came.

D. L. Moody, and others like him, had in revival meetings reduced evangelism to a stock question: "are you saved?" This reflected the post-war evangelical campaign to rescue the perishing out of the world. Moody had very personal involvement with the Mission Friends in Chicago during the 1870's.[15] Many Swedish immigrants, like much of religious society in America, discarded their theological heritage and even older forms of piety. The "Swedish Moody", E. K. Skogsbergh, was committed to the large-style revival meetings on a scale that matched his American counterpart. Lutheran theology was therefore criticized, as was the synodical concept of church polity.

Confessional Evangelicalism. This brings us to consider the second evangelical camp relevant to the study, the confessional evangelicals. These were the distinct old world, Protestant ethnic groups which tried to remain apart from the American religious heritage, through the first half of the Twentieth Century in some cases. They specifically avoided the American obsession with mass evangelism and eschatology. They have stood apart from both liberal Christology and the fundamentalist, anti-intellectual outcry. The neo-Calvinist Princeton theology, which dominated much of mainline American Protestantism before Finney's revival transformed American religious life, was strongly evident in such traditions as the Dutch Calvinists and Scottish Presbyterians in America. German Lutherans, such as the Missouri Synod Lutherans, have tried to form a pure Lutheranism, which has been effectually separatist. The Augustana Synod was decidedly a confessional evangelical tradition. A fourth such tradition within this stream has been the evangelical Anglicans, or Episcopalians.

These traditions maintained strong European theological loyalties, especially in their confessional documents and liturgies. They also have had a strong ecclesiology, and took pride in their non-American piety. After World War II, however, they moved into close cooperation and political agreement with the neo-evangelicals.[16]

Thus, the tension between the strongly confessional Lutherans of the Augustana Synod and the Mission Friends must be seen as differences between two distinct pietist, evangelical streams. The same is true for the struggle within the Mission Friend synods. Many of the Mission Friends, and most extremely the left wing, were strongly attracted to the American millenialism and eventually rejected their heritage. The leader of the left wing, who became extremely anti-denominational and eventually formed the Free Church, was the ordained Lutheran pastor, John G. Princell. The center party was torn between the confessional tradition and the appeal of American millenial revivalism. It tried to chart an accomodating course in its leadership of the Covenant, holding both in tension. Before we can examine this tension more closely we must examine the consequences of pre-millenialism upon American church history.

Fundamentalism. Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century has been dominated by the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy. Fundamentalism emerged as a reaction against secular sociological and scientific thinking in the Nineteenth Century. It had a dynamic influence on the evangelical laity in the early decades of the new century.

Fundamentalism was in many ways a wedding of post-Reconstruction premillenialism and the neo-Calvinist "Old School," or Princeton theology, of Nineteenth Century America.[17] The latter was rigidly conservative in social and political outlook--in contrast with Finney's "New Measures"--

by virtue of its deterministic approach to life and human nature.

The millenial emphasis of fundamental evangelicalism was heavily influenced in the fourth quarter of the last century by dispensational eschatology which, beginning with the Niagara Bible Conferences in 1875, utilized a highly subjective hermeneutic to date from scripture the fulfillment of the end times.[18] This trans-denominational movement tried not only to expostulate evidence for its pre-tribulational interpretation, but increasingly attempted to counter the influence of secular thought upon Christendom. It was alarmed at the infiltration of modernism into American seminaries, and counter-attacked with a series of articles, which had a wide and influential hearing among mainline Protestants in the United States, financed by Lyman Stewart, layman and heir of the Union Oil Co.[19] The Fundamentals,[20] published between 1909 and 1915, began to unify evangelical forces, until the World Christian's Fundamentals Association was formed out of a 1919 world conference of evangelicals.

Biblical orthodoxy was to be the movement's central thrust, but it quickly became embroiled in the controversy concerning the teaching of evolution in public and private schools. The initial thrust crested after the Scopes Trial of 1925, which, combined with the failure of Prohibition, derailed the social effectiveness of the fundamentalists.

The next phase was the formation of a separatist sub-culture with exclusive mores, media, schools, and selective leadership. Fundamentalists became defensive and ineffective, though after World War II they became quite militant in their organized confrontation with the secular and religious society, including other evangelicals.[21] Richard Mouw

has said that their main emphasis in the early Twentieth Century was maintenance of a conservative theological control in mainstream Protestant seminaries and leadership positions. When that failed they scattered into independent, splinter groups. "The resultant negative theological and cultural emphases of fundamentalism were influenced by their bitter experiences of ecclesiastical defeat."[22.]

The Covenant, struggling to grow after its controversy with the "free church" movement and the loss of Mission Friends to the Congregationalists, began to discover another division developing late in the second decade of the century. It was between the premillenial fundamentalists and the denomination leadership schooled in the Swedish Lutheran tradition and a different hermeneutic. This was openly expressed in an attack upon the Covenant seminary by parish pastors and laymen agitated by the Fundamentals.

The second generation leaders and scholars of the Mission Friends were most often graduates of secular American universities and more liberal divinity schools like Yale and Andover. North Park Seminary in Chicago has been viewed by conservatives as dangerously liberal, especially the students' exposure in the seminary to historical criticism.[23.]

Administrative and scholastic leadership of the denomination was closely tied to the mystique of the Swedish Mission Friend heritage. Over 200,000 Swedes came to the United States between 1900 and 1925--only one-third of the number which came in the twenty years preceeding 1900. But by 1900 the impact of the revival movement was spent in Sweden, and those who came in the new century were less inclined to identify with the voluntary associations such as the Mission Covenant. Also in the latter years of the century, not only anti-clericalism had grown, but an

anti-religious sentiment as well. A real test for the survival of the denomination began in the appeal it would hold for the second generation Covenanters who were first generation Americans. The Mission Covenant lost large numbers of its youth in the early decades of the Twentieth Century, and spent the next several decades trying to adapt to the new age. One of the strongest reasons put forth for the desertions was the lack not only of the confessional tradition but also of strong doctrinal axioms. Thus, the denomination began to draw upon its confessional heritage in teaching and liturgy.[24]

An important part of that heritage, however, included certain principles, notably freedom of theological interpretation within the context of a biblical faith. The Covenant until then had not needed to spend time defining its perception of faith in the scriptures. Thus, one could hold an absolute conviction of the Bible as the Word of God and still raise questions about authorship of certain books or particular errors and glosses in specific passages. To the fundamentalists, influenced by biblical determinism, such a consideration was unthinkable, and basically the reason for the deterioration of the Bible as a standard in American educational institutions.

A fundamentalist opposition emerged in the 1920's which included men from outside the Covenant heritage--men who were suspicious of denominational strictures, and yet for various reasons had chosen to serve Covenant congregations or missions. Three Covenant pastors were quite active in the early years of the WCFA, and one, Paul W. Rood, became its president in 1929. The tension was between a leadership which was interested in dialectics, apologetics, and inquiry, and a sizable minority of pastors and laymen whose faith rested upon the assertion of an absolute.[25]

Controversy broke in 1927 over secret investigations of the North Park Seminary faculty by fundamentalist pastors, who then vocally charged the Seminary with heretical teaching. It was an ugly attack, using innuendo and rumor, slurring the reputation of the educational leadership in order to regiment theological studies.

The president of the Covenant, C. V. Bowman, demanded that charges be constitutionally presented and evaluated. Through oral hearing North Park College and Seminary was cleared and was free to develop its curriculum using varied opinions to stimulate the intellectual growth of students without direct fear of formal censure or harassment.[26.]

In 1965, however, the seminary again came under attack over the issue of biblical inspiration, an issue which had simmered since 1958. Fundamentalist pastors issued a petition requesting a more balanced hearing of the conservative point of view in the seminary, one which they believed was considerably more representative of the denomination's congregations. A two-year study resulted in the recommendation of the appointment to the faculty of a teacher with a more conservative position on scriptures.[27.] This did occur in 1968. A concern for broader representation at top leadership positions was voiced at other times, though not necessarily emanating from a conservative reaction.

The bearing of this recital of events upon our study is not the specific content or issues involved, but the illustration of the progressive-conservative tension within the denomination, which was reflected at the congregational level. These factional elements crystallized in the Missoula Covenant Church in the late 1960's and failed to find reconciliation as the principals did in the seminary controversy.

Neo-Evangelicalism. For historical clarification, the third evangelical group, the neo-evangelicals, emerged in the 1940's in reaction to the older fundamentalism.[28] They criticized the anti-intellectualism within fundamentalist thought, its excessive otherworldliness and obsession with Bible prophecy, and generally tried to avoid the separatism which fundamentalism produced. This newer movement stressed cooperation and discussion of intellectual differences. Their leading mouthpiece, since the early 1950's, has been Christianity Today.

Neo-evangelicals have tended, however, to stress right doctrine above all else--something they have inherited from their fundamentalist background--and have sacrificed vitality in worship and Christian lifestyle. Neo-evangelicalism also inherited from fundamentalism a political conservatism, a tendency toward an excessive individualism, and an emphasis upon doctrinal methodology. With notable exceptions, like Carl F. H. Henry and Paul Rees,[29] this stunted the creation of a strong social ethic and blunted political effectiveness. While they tended to be open to ecumenical dialogue, there was a marked non-negotiability viz-a-viz theology. This tended to produce literalism.

The value in mentioning this camp is that the leadership and much of the Covenant ministerium since World War II had a neo-evangelical orientation, while relying upon a confessional evangelical heritage. The fundamentalist minority has been much more moderate than militant.

Classical Pentecostalism. This theological background would be incomplete without a brief examination of the most important ingredient in the period under examination. It has been called the third force in western Christianity, after Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and

began its development with the new century, emerging out of the American holiness traditions and millenial, fundamental dispensationalism. It is pentecostalism.

The origins of modern pentecostalism can be traced to the fundamentalist Bible school of Charles Parham, in Topeka, Kansas, where students, having studied the "Acts of the Apostles," began to pray for a special expression of being endowed with the power of the Holy Spirit baptism. Parham prayed for a young woman at a watchnight service, December 31, 1900 and she began to pray in tongues (glossolalia), which was one expression in the primitive Church of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.[31] The whole student body began to pray for a similar manifestation in January, 1901, and soon experienced the spiritual empowerment. Parham and the students worked in Kansas for a few years and the movement then fanned out into Texas and Missouri with "Full Gospel" meetings.

The phenomenon received wide publicity and began to develop a strong following during a revival at the Azusa Street meetings in Los Angeles in April of 1906.[32] The leader, William Seymour, a black holiness preacher, developed it into a mission, and it eventually became an all-black congregation. The movement moved rapidly throughout the United States, Sweden and Norway, then to England and the remainder of the European continent. Pentecostalism reached into Africa and Australia in the 1920's. South America was an early focus of mission, but activity was hampered by the Roman Catholic Church until the post-Vatican II period, when pentecostalism became the fastest growing religious movement.

Classic pentecostalism developed from a trans-denominational appeal among distinctly fundamentalist denominations, largely because of the virulent opposition of mainline Protestantism and the belittling by upper

middle classes in America. Many were literally hounded from their churches. Fundamentalism is inherently mistrustful of others and fearful of apostacy. Hence, pentecostals shied away from unitive, cooperative church action, and became separatists and even mistrustful of one another. This helps account for the multitude of pentecostal denominations which sprang up in the early decades of the century.

Following the pattern of American revivalism, pentecostalism touched mostly Baptists, Methodists, and general holiness churches, such as the Nazarenes. The new denominations reflected prevailing parentage: Assemblies of God borrowed a Baptist congregational format; Churches of God utilized the centralized ecclesiastical polity of Methodism. In theology and ethics they possessed the basic beliefs of fundamentalism: scriptural infallibility, the diety of Jesus Christ, his vicarious death and physical resurrection, his imminent, personal return to consummate history, and the urgency of world evangelism. In addition, they, like many dispensationalists, placed strong emphasis on the personality of the Holy Spirit and the necessity for an infilling of the Spirit for a fulfilled Christian life.[33] Also like most fundamentalists, pentecostals were overwhelmingly poor, working class people.

Pentecostal Origins: Nineteenth Century. Pentecostalism must be viewed in the larger context of Nineteenth Century evangelicalism, notably American revivalism. Traces of similar phenomena have arisen since the apostolic period, notably the heretical outbreak of Montanism in the second century. Pentecostal experience has had much in common with early Protestant pietism. The immediate context consisted of several, general factors. Millenialism, as a social-religious movement, is directly

traced to the preaching of the dynamic Anglican pastor, Edward Irving, who spoke in the 1820's in London of the imminent return of Christ. He emphasized the filling of the Holy Spirit and helped found the Catholic Apostolic Church,[34] which tried to imitate the evangelical and catholic quality of the early Church under the power of the Holy Spirit.

The interest in adventism developed independent of Irving. In the United States William Miller, a farmer, influenced by the Irvingites, spawned numerous Adventist churches, though his calculations about the Second Coming proved erroneous.[35] Literal prophetic exegesis touched a sensitive chord in the United States and the United Kingdom, primarily because millenial expectations fed nationalism and the popular imagination in each country.

Dispensationalism. Dispensational millenialism was begun by John Nelson Darby, an Irish Anglican priest, who left the Church in the 1840's and helped found the Plymouth Brethren.[36] He argued in his writings that the Church is apostate and riddled with rationalism and ritualism. He was deeply disturbed by the beginnings of higher criticism and countered with his own exegesis, which involved a highly prophetic hermeneutic. Princell, founder of the Free Church, was a student of Darby.[37]

The theological school of dispensationalism divides history into epochs, or "dispensations," each reflecting a different initiation by God and relationship to Him. It is deterministic in that God repeatedly has instituted a new period because of the failure of humanity to be faithful, yet each stage brings creation closer to consummation with the return of Jesus Christ. Dispensationalists reflect the basic fundamentalist tenets, though they believe Christians will be "raptured" or removed from earth, before the terrible tribulation which then ushers

in Christ's return.

Dispensationalism dominated the Niagara Bible Conferences, between 1875 and 1900, founded for prophetic exposition, and out of which was born the Fundamentals. In the United States, the dominant inheritor of Darby's futurism was Cyrus I. Scofield, who produced the Scofield annotated Bible.[38] This Bible has been the central influence in Twentieth Century dispensationalism. Significantly he founded Dallas Theological Seminary in Texas, which grew to be a mecca for conservative dispensationalism. The most popular descendent of Darby and Scofield in the 1970's has been Hal Lindsay and his Late, Great Planet Earth.[39]

A note of qualification is that not all millenialists are dispensationalists. L. E. Maxwell, an initiator of the fundamental Bible school movement in the early Twentieth Century and founder of Prairie Bible Institute, Three Hills, Alberta, Canada, was vehemently anti-dispensational, and opposed Scofield's exegesis, affirming that all the promises of the Bible were for modern times as well. Yet curiously, his followers have been highly critical of pentecostalism.[40]

The Scofield tradition, as it developed in the early part of this century, became quite anti-pentecostal, claiming that the gifts and operations of the Holy Spirit as witnessed in the early decades of the Church ceased after the first century, A. D. Thus, dispensationalism, like most of fundamentalism, has been divided between forces decidedly pentecostal and those vociferously anti-pentecostal. Yet, dispensational adventism certainly helped create the environment into which pentecostalsim was born.

The Holiness Movement. The Holiness tradition in America was a

product of frontier revivalism, both in the post-millenial and pre-millenial teachings.[41] It dominated, especially in the Western and Southern United States, working-class Methodism. It provided cohesiveness and meaning to poorer people's lives, which was expressed in various degrees of legalisms. Holiness teaching has been dominated by the belief in entire sanctification, and has relied upon crisis conversion as the vehicle of initiation.

Charles Finney emphasized holiness in his moral reforms, and his systematic theology is built upon it.[42] He spread that teaching through his great American revivals before the civil war. Finney had a crisis conversion, which he observed was later followed by a "mighty baptism of the Holy Spirit."[43] He went from the revival circuit to help found Oberlin College, both a hotbed of abolition activity and center for sanctification theology. A faculty colleague of Finney's wrote, in 1845, a study entitled, "Gift of the Holy Ghost," in which he asserted that the Pentecostal fullness was not only for the primitive Church, but "it is the common privilege of all believers...of this generation, and of every generation to come."[44] Asa Mahan, first president of Oberlin, became the champion of "Oberlin Perfectionism," in which he stressed total consecration of the person to Christ and his service.[45] He echoed Wesley's Christian Perfection, and, in fact, Wesley spoke of experiencing an empowering of the Holy Spirit, as did his associate John Fletcher, who as a theologian in the Eighteenth Century wrote of the "Pentecostal reality."[46]

Mahan pioneered in pentecostal theology with a work entitled, The Baptism of the Holy Ghost, (1870)[47] and is considered one of the central figures in the American Holiness tradition. Mahan's work prepared

the way for the outbreak of the pentecostal phenomenon with its language of the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, the power and gifts to the Church, especially the gift of healing. The culture of the 1870's was infused with interest in divine healing, as evidenced by the wide hearing accorded Mary Baker Eddy and Christian Science. But the climate also emphasized Christian perfection and deeper experiences with God over propositional truth, and thus set the stage for a new Pentecost.

Neo-Pentecostalism. Classic Pentecostalism, highly fundamentalist and sectarian, was very limited in the first half of this century. However, a classic pentecostal, David duPlessis, undertook a mission in the 1950's to extend the pentecostal experience with an ecumenical approach.[48] He spoke in a wide range of traditions throughout the world, and spent considerable energy through the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland. But the dramatic turning point in pentecostalism occurred in the late 1950's in Van Nuys, California.

In 1959 an Episcopal couple experienced a baptism in the Holy Spirit through some pentecostal friends. Instead of leaving the Episcopal church, however, they remained and shared their experience with the pastor. He observed that, where before they had been nominal members, they now became quite involved. He shared this with a fellow priest, Dennis Bennett, at St. Mark's, because other members began to duplicate the experience. Bennett met the couple, and as a result came into his own experience of Pentecost late in 1959. A prayer meeting was established at the other parish church, but the most rapid growth occurred among parishioners from St. Mark's.

Pentecostalism among mainline denominations had been occurring underground for years. But Bennett brought it to national attention when he

preached a sermon in March, 1960, and explained openly his experience. He was asked by the church board to leave, and was reassigned to a floundering parish, St. Luke's, in Seattle.[49] Van Nuys, however, remained the focal point for neo-pentecostalism through the middle of the 1960's even though St. Luke's experienced a warm and remarkable reception of the pentecostal experience among its members, which enabled the church to flourish.

Neo-pentecostalism, though stoutly resisted in mainline denominations in the 1960's, developed rapidly on a transdenominational basis. Some of the fundamentalist style and theology carried over, but, unlike neo-evangelicalism, it developed notably free of American fundamentalism. Remarkably catholic, it has been termed in the 1970's a "progressive evangelicalism,"[50] which has stubbornly adapted itself to a wide range of religious traditions, and found justification through a wide variety of theologies. It also became the source of renewal, and fierce conflict, at the Community Covenant Church of Missoula.

It should be noted, in conclusion, that the most forceful and rapid development of neo-pentecostalism in the 1970's (or the "Charismatic Renewal" as it has been popularly termed since the mid 1950's) has been among Roman Catholics. Catholic neo-pentecostalism began among some faculty members at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, during 1966, but exploded among multitudes of Catholics through the baptism of the Holy Spirit experienced at Notre Dame University in March 1967.[51]

What is remarkable in contrast is that, where classic pentecostalism was sectarian and confined to poorer working class people, neo-pentecostalism, especially with the Roman Catholic infusion, has been dramatically ecumenical in activity and largely composed of middle and

upper-middle class people. Two other important contrasts are first, that neo-pentecostalism has tended to be much more socially involved than its classic forebearer and second, that the former has had a deeply sacramental and liturgical emphasis, where the latter has traditionally been antisacramental and tried to avoid structured liturgy, often to its detriment. This negative tendency, however, has been somewhat moderated in recent decades in many of the Assemblies of God congregations.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter II

1. Cf. Dictionary, Stoeffler; Bernard Ramm, The Evangelical Heritage (Waco, TX: Word Books, Inc., 1973); Frank Foster, Genetic History of New England Theology (NY: Russel and Russell, 1963; repr. of 1907 ed.). For a different perspective on the non-conforming origins of evangelicalism, see Donald F. Durnbaugh, The Believers' Church: the History & Character of Radical Protestantism (NY: Macmillan Co., 1968).

2. I Corinthians 10.17.

3. I Corinthians 10.14.

4. These three categories are adapted from ones outlined by Richard J. Mouw, in an article entitled, "Hartford and the Future of Evangelicalism," included in Against the World, For the World; the Hartford Appeal & the Future of American Religion (NY: Seabury Press, 1976), Peter Berger and Richard Neuhaus, eds. The other sub-sections in this chapter are drawn from other research.

5. Millenialism, which involves the study and anticipation of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ and the consummation of history and eternity, with a focus upon the establishment of the literal or figurative 1,000 year reign of Christ, has been crucial to theology and Christology since the early Church, and has dominated the popular passion in various periods, especially of economic and political unrest. It has been probably as important to Christian faith as the bodily resurrection of Christ following his crucifixion. A significant study of the pre-Reformation impact of millenialism is Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium; Revolutionary Millenarians & Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), though he goes afield of careful historical scholarship in his extensive use of psychological interpretation and a projection of prototypes into the twentieth century. However, millenialism must be seen as a crucial dimension in non-conformist religious activity, and certainly in Anglo-American revivalism. Cf. Durnbaugh.

6. Postmillenialism is the belief that the Church will lead society on earth to perfection, after which Christ will return to reign. Thus, it was, in the early Nineteenth Century, strongly influenced by Enlightenment notions of progress. It was a natural influence upon revivalism both of which were Arminian in their emphasis upon the human exercise of will in overcoming sin and evil, and the role of the Church in bringing forth the Kingdom of God. Thus, its social vision was extensive, and both in Europe and America, the "New World" represented, in the popular consciousness, the opportunity given by God to realize the messianic age.

7. Premillenialism emphasizes the fallen and depraved state of humanity without Christ, and has an entropic worldview, whereby Christ will rescue the "true" church out of the world before the cataclysmic tribulation plunges creation into total darkness. After the Satanic hosts run rampant upon a world without the Church, Christ will return and overthrow the rule of Satan and all his followers, and bring forth a new heaven and a new earth. However, variations within premillenialism are numerous. This theological perception has dominated neo-Calvinism, established Lutheranism, and millenial evangelicalism since the late 1800's, until a revisionism began within Neo-evangelicalism in the 1950's. Premillenialism has had a pessimistic view of the social order and tended to emphasize law and order over justice and mercy in political ideology.

In short, premillenialism has believed that tribulation will overtake humanity before Christ returns, whereas postmillenialism has maintained the tribulation will be overcome by the active initiation of the Church in the social order, after which Christ will establish his millenial Kingdom.

8. See Charles Finney, lectures on Moral Government, moral obligation, and moral action, in Lectures on Systematic Theology, J. H. Fairchild, ed., (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., facsimile of 1878 ed.; copyright 1851). pp. 1-134. Finney represented the best of postmillenial theology. Consider his lectures on the purposes of human government, their providential intent for universal good, their limitations, and the place of civil disobedience, pp. 214-227. Lest one perceive Finney as following an Enlightenment perception of human nature, consider his lectures on human depravity and natural ability, pp. 228-257, 320-340.

To ascertain the depths of postmillenial social action, consider these statements of Finney as representative:

> Though not a pacifist, he wrote: "There can scarcely be conceived a more abominable and fiendish maxim than 'our country right or wrong.'.....
> "To adopt the maxim, 'Our country right or wrong,' and to sympathize with the government, in the prosecution of a war unrighteously waged, must involve the guilt of murder."....
> "No human legislature can nullify the moral law..."
> "The spirit of the law...being identical with the law of benevolence, sometimes requires the violation of the letter of the law..."
> "The sinfulness of slaveholding and war...in every case where the terms slaveholding and war are used in their popular signification, will appear irresistibly, if we consider that sin is selfishness, and that all sinfulness is necessarily sinful." (pp. 226-228, selectively).

Finney was concerned that nations, like individuals, need repentance and restitution. But he led his listeners, like the courtroom barrister he was, primarily to the need for change, or regeneration, through

a conversion of the individual human heart to Christ. Sanctification of the individual, and thus society, occurred only through a conscious application to the law of love in Christ, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. This would lead to perfection. All other, natural modes of reform he emphasizes were futile.

9. Much of American church history has neglected the evangelical contribution to progressive, social action, because of the reactionary posture of premillenial evangelicalism which dominated the last quarter of the nineteenth century and shaped much of evangelicalism in the twentieth. This was set against the avowed religious enemy of the premillenial fundamentalism, liberal Protestantism, which was dismissed as apostate. These liberals were seen as the founders of the social gospel, which was also rigorously attacked by fundamentalists.

A number of historians have brought a revision in evangelical history. Gilbert H. Barnes was probably the earliest with The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844 (NY: Harcourt, Brace, World, 1964; copyright 1933), in which he contrasted the abolition movement fostered by Finney's disciples, such as Theodore Weld, with the Garrisonian fanaticism. Barnes judges the moral impulse in the Midwest, under Weld, superior to a misguided zeal in the Northeast, under Garrison.

A crucial, post-revisionist work is Revivalism & Social Reform, by Timothy L. Smith, loc. cit. A contemporary work which follows in this vein is Donald Dayton, Discovering an Evangelical Heritage (NY: Harper & Row, 1976). He pointedly contrasts the impulses in postmillenialism and premillenialism. His work is significant because it delves into the radical reform roots, largely postmillenial, of the twentieth century strongholds of premillenial evangelicalism. He notably examines the evangelical roots of feminism, pacifism, anti-slavery, and movement to eliminate the conditions of poverty and oppression. He and his wife, Lucille Sider Dayton, have also published, "'Your Daughters Shall Prophecy': Feminism in the Holiness Movement," Methodist History, (January 1976), pp. 67-92. She has also a study, "The Evangelical Roots of Feminism," (copyright and publication in process), in which it is pointed out that liberal protestantism has been the central bastion, besides Roman Catholocism, opposing ordination of women, whereas holiness and evangelical traditions have been replete with the pastoral role of women.

Another evangelical social activist, David Moberg, preceeded and influenced Dayton's study with The Great Reversal: Evangelism Vs. Social Concern (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1972). A Roman Catholic study has come recently to light, The Relative Efficiency of Evangelical Non-Violence: The Influence of a Revival of Religion on the Abolition of Slavery in North America, 1740-1865, by the Jesuit, J. Auping (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1977). His thesis expands that of Barnes.

An important economic study is by the avowed Anglican, R. H. Tawney, Religion & the Rise of Capitalism (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith 1962; copyright Harcourt, Brace, World, 1926). The political and social

transformations wrought by a dynamic pietism, especially in the forming of Prussia and England as modern states, has been examined by considering the writings of two historians, one German, the other French, by Robert C. Walton, "Pietism: Carl Hinrichs and Elie Halevy," Covenant Quarterly, Vol. XXXVI/2 (May 1978), pp. 19-29.

What is perhaps ironic is that though much of the reform zeal instigated after the civil war and through the Progressive Era was inspired by optimistic postmillenial evangelicalism, the second generation evangelicals disowned its own heritage and left the reform zeal to secular philosophy.

10. Martin Marty, Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America (NY: Dial Press, 1970), p. 23.

11. Charles Hodge, the central figure in mid-nineteenth century "Old School" Calvinism, affirmed determinism in maintaining that whatever befalls man in life, it should not be resisted, but find what good God intends in it. Thus, poverty is a direct determination of God to be embraced. This position gave divine sanction to the status quo. Princeton theology emphasized the deep presence of sin in the world. Hodge once stated that "no man, no community of men, no society, church or nation ever suffered in this life as much as their sins deserve," and thus no people could protest an unmerited affliction. This view almost made sin the normative condition, even intended by a wrathful God. Dayton, Evangelical Heritage, p. 131. One can see a ready alliance between "Old School" and premillenial revivalists. Cf. William S. Barker, "The Social Views of Charles Hodge." Presbyterion, Spring 1975.

12. Martin Marty quotes the religious leader, Robert Baird, in 1844, as proclaiming a Christian American character, "is that of the Anglo-Saxon race," where men study "Saxon institutions, Saxon laws, and usages." Thus, these essentially Germanic-Teutonic peoples "are the chief supports of the ideas and institutions of evangelical Christianity." These held "in their hands the theoretical and practical mission of Protestantism for the world." Marty, loc. cit. It is easy to see the civil religious transferance to the preaching of an American Manifest Destiny stirred by the newspaper editor, John O'Sullivan in 1844. See further, Robert Bellah, The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial (NY: Seabury Press, 1975).

It should be remembered, however, that while Finney's perfectionism was fed by Anglo-American optimism, he stoutly rebuked such language as idolatrous, as when he confronted the phrase about loyalty to America, right or wrong, and the shamefulness of Polk's war with Mexico, Finney, p. 226.

13. A proof text for the Rapture, used by pre-tribulation millenialists has been Paul's consolation to the Thessalonians: "For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air." (I Thess. 4.17-18; cf. Chapters 4 and 5).

14. See Jerry Wayne Brown, The Rise of Biblical Criticism in America, 1800-1870 (Middletown, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 1969).

15. In the 1860's the Chicago Mission Society met in the Moody Church, and when they had their own place he came to visit at a thanksgiving service in 1869. Olsson, Spirit, p. 200; also see LeRoy W. Nelson, "The Relationship of Dwight L. Moody to the Evangelical Covenant Church," B.D. research paper (Chicago: North Park Theological Seminary, 1958).

An interesting, apparent consequence of contact between Swedish revivalists and American revivalists, is that a very popular twentieth century revival hymn--in fact the one Billy Graham has always used for the altar call at the end of his evangelistic service--is a Swedish Mission Covenant hymn. "O Store Gud" (" O Mighty God"), was written in 1885 by Rev. Carl Boberg, a Mission Covenant pastor in Sweden. The American hymn is "How Great Thou Art," which is an English translation of a Russion version, based on a German translation of the original. Basically the theme is the same, but the stanzas, in the rerouting, are totally different. The Covenant Hymnal #19 (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1973), pp. 19-20.

16. Mouw. See also Millard Erickson, A New Evangelical Theology (NY: Revell & Co., 1968), which is a definitive intellectual history of neo-evangelicalism, as well as a theological apologetic.

17. Ernest Sandeen has demonstrated a link between "Old School," Princeton doctrinal rigidity and the prophecy conferences begun late in the nineteenth century, especially the Niagara Bible Conferences, which in their millenial zeal produced the bibliolatry of fundamentalism. Roots of Fundamentalism: British & American Millenarianism, 1800-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 132-160 ff.

18. Ibid. Also George W. Dollar, A History of Fundamentalism in America (Greenville, S.C.: Bob Jones University Press, 1973).

19. Stewart is recorded as having seven fundamental beliefs, which were:
    1) the verbal inspiration of the Bible "as originally given"
    2) the deity of Jesus Christ
    3) the vicarious death of Jesus
    4) the personality of the Holy Spirit
    5) necessity of a personal infilling of the Spirit for victorious Christian living
    6) the personal return of Christ
    7) the urgency of world evangelism. Sandeen, p. 192.

These points basically included the core of millenial fundamentalism, though #2 is usually emphasized as the virgin birth of Christ, as well as his deity. Nos. 3 and 4 were included in the personal belief of a number of early fundamentalists, but # 5 especially ceased to be emphasized by the early twentieth century.

20. Olsson, Spirit, pp. 528-532.

21. See Louis Gasper, The Fundamentalist Movement (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1963), pp. 40-70, 141-147, which takes up in the 1930's where Sandeen leaves off. He contrasts the organizational weakness of militant fundamentalism in the first quarter of this century, with the strongly organized and financially secure militant network in the third quarter.

22. Mouw, p. 102.

23. Stephenson reflects this, p. 291, when he wrote that the Mission Friends education institutions "are vastly different from the original conception in the minds of the fathers." He appeared suspicious in observing that the second generation leaders and faculty were recruited from American universities and "liberal" divinity schools like Yale and Andover.

Harold Lindsell, neo-evangelical and editor of Christianity Today since the middle 1960's, has been at the forefront of militant biblical literalism, or inerrancy. In his most recent counter-offensive against the erosion of what he terms solid doctrine in evangelical institutions, he singled out both Fuller Theological Seminary--inter-denominational--and the Covenant North Park Seminary as representatives of a creeping apostacy. The Battle for the Bible (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976).

24. The founding members of the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America were overwhelmingly immigrants who came between 1870 and 1900. Swedish migration was greatest between 1885 and 1900, with approximately 600,000 people. By the year of the founding of the American Covenant--1885--the labor movement in Sweden was only six years old and heavily influenced by German socialism. Whereas strikers in the Sundvall sawmill strike of 1879 included Mission Friends driven by the horrendous conditions of Swedish industrialization almost to desperation, the Covenanters in America had settled in the rural Midwest, remote from the centers of urban industry. Those who were not farmers were mainly employed in the building trades, with considerably more secure positions than the great majority of their urban peers. The American Swedish Covenanters did not have to directly face the labor problem, as did the Covenanters in Sweden.

Thus, in America they squarely positioned themselves with American Capitalism and mainly Republican party values. The American emphasis upon individualism and self-sufficiency found a compliment in the Nordic immigrants. They further adopted the American equation of socialism with Godlessness, and seemed anxious to assimilate with the Anglo-Saxon Protestant temperament. (See Bellah, Ch. 5, "American Taboo on Socialism," p. 112 ff.). There was little contact with Roman Catholic cultures, like the reputedly hard-drinking Irish, by virtue of physical location as much as religious prejudice. Olsson, Spirit, pp. 494-508, for insight.

Stephenson remarked, p. 292, however, that besides the Augustana Synod, by 1930 the Mission Covenant contained the largest body of Swedes in America. This he believed was because "since 1900 those of the Swedish

immigrants who have taken an interest in religion have been largely from the free churches." Thus, possibly the Covenant did not lose as many as they might have if they had been more liberal.

25. Olsson, Spirit, p. 530.

26. Ibid, pp. 534-540. Parallels to this event can be observed throughout the history of Christianity. One which was similar even in outcome--though only temporary--was the rise of biblical exegesis at the University of Salamanca, late in the sixteenth century, which countered the older scholastic party suspicious of anything savoring of criticism; (especially they castigated investigations of the original texts and feared, because of their bibliolatry, any alternation or proposals for a new translation--much like many fundamentalists rigid loyalty to the King James Version). This resulted in the exoneration of Luis de Leon, leader of the scripture party, four years after charges were presented, in 1575. Thomas Merton, The Ascent to Truth (NY: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1951), pp. 138 ff.

27. Olsson, Family, pp. 108-109, 120-125; also Olsson, "The Theological Posture of the Seminary & Covenant Faith," an address to the Covenant Ministerium (Chicago, June 21, 1965).

28. See especially Bernard Ramm, Problems in Christian Apologetics (Portland, OR: Western Baptist Theological Seminary, 1949); Carl F. H. Henry, The Protestant Dilemma (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ., 1949); and Harold Ockenga, "The Key to the Solution of your Intellectual Difficulties with Christianity," Moody Monthly, Vol. 46/7 (March, 1946). For an enlightened analysis of neoevangelicalism, see Donald Bloesch, The Evangelical Renaissance (Eerdmans, 1973).

29. Rees is a Covenant minister who has been active in world food relief, and critical of American affluence and power. Henry, who founded Christianity Today, has had a keen social dimension to his evangelical writing. He raised the ire of fundamentalists with his Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism (Eerdmans, 1947), which he followed with Christian Personal Ethics (Eerdmans, 1947), and the enlightened endorsement of civil rights with Aspects of Christian Social Ethics (Eerdmans, 1964).

30. Donald Gee, The Pentecostal Movement (London: Elim Publishing Co., 1949). Standard histories include: Nils Block-Hoell, The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origins, Development, & Distinctive Character (NY: Humanities Press, 1964); Walter J. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals (Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1972; originally a doctoral thesis published in German); and J. T. Nichols, Pentecostalism (NY: Harper & Row, 1966).

31. The Pentecostal movement derives its name from the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Church fifty days after Jesus' resurrection, at Pentecost: "Suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind...and there appeared upon them cloven tongues like fire...And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." (Acts 2.2-4 ff). This became a proof text for classic pentecostalism for the necessity of the Spirit

baptism being authenticated with manifestation of tongues. Teaching within neopentecostalism has de-emphasized this dimension, stressing the manifestation of tongues as one sign, not the sign of the Spirit infilling.

32. Cf. Michael J. Savelesky, "Pentecostalism: an Attempt at Evaluation," an unpublished paper (Katholieke Universiteit Te Leuven, Belgium, 1971), p. 10 ff, with sources above, footnote #30.

33. Richard Quebedeaux, The New Charismatics: Origins, Development, & Significance of Neo-Pentecostalism (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1976). This is a major, scholarly recent work; also the source for explanation of world growth of classic pentecostalism.

34. For examination of Irving, see Sandeen; W. W. Andrews, Edward Irving: a Review (Glasgow: David Hobbs & Co., 1900); A. L. Drummond, Edward Irving & His Circle (London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1934); Washington Wilks, Edward Irving: an Ecclesiastical & Literary Biography (London: William Freeman, 1854). A contemporary application is by the Lutheran charismatic, Larry Christenson, A Message to the Charismatic Renewal (Minneapolis, MI: Bethany Fellowship, 1972).

A detailed analysis of the Church is by P. E. Shaw, The Catholic Apostolic Church, Sometimes Called Irvingite (Morningside Heights, NY: Kings Crown Press, 1946).

35. For Miller, see Whitney Cross.

36. Sandeen pp. 31-34, 60-80, provides keen insight into the origins of the Plymouth Brethren and Darby's particular millenial interpretation, as well as his impact upon the Niagara Conferences and Scofield. There is Plymouth Brethren examination by E. H. Broadbent, Pilgrim Church (London: Pickering & Inglis, Ltd., 1963; copyright 1931), which quotes at length from Darby's writings. A primary work on dispensational fundamentalism is Clarence B. Bass, Backgrounds to Dispensationalism (Eerdmans, 1960). Also see James A. Finley, D. L. Moody, American Evangelist (University of Chicago Press, 1969) which notes tie-in of dispensationalism, holiness movement and strict Calvinism, p. 406 ff.

37. For Darby's impact upon Princell and the Swedish Evangelical Free Church, especially the anti-institutional flavor, as well as the millenial facet, see Olsson, Spirit, p. 251. Darby's point of view is reflected in Kim's teaching, probably through Dallas Seminary.

38. Sandeen, pp. 222-224.

39. Hal Lindsay, The Late Great Planet Earth (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970); followed by Satan Is Alive & Well on Planet Earth (Zondervan, 1972), where he pointedly took issue with the charismatic interpretation of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. He was a graduate of Dallas.

40. Private conversation with Rev. William Snyder, graduate of Prairie Bible Institute, Missoula, MT: May, 1978.

41. Dayton has compiled a bibliographic essay, The American Holiness Movement (Wilmore, KY: The Fisher Library, Asbury Theological Seminary, 1971). An extensive bibliography is provided by Charles Jones, A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement (Methuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1974).

42. Finney.

43. Finney, Memoirs (New York, 1876), describes an experience following his conversion as "a mighty Baptism of the Holy Spirit." It is notable that Moody was prayed for, and presumably received, "to be baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire," as he was entering into revival work. Richard K. Curtis, They Called Him Mister Moody (NY: Doubleday, 1962), pp. 149-150.

44. Foster, pp. 456-457, quotes from John Morgan, of the Oberlin Theological Faculty. See also Oberlin Quarterly Review I (August, 1945), p. 115 ff.

45. Foster, pp. 455-456.

46. Dayton, "The Evolution of Pentecostalism," Covenant Quarterly, Vol. XXXII/3, (August, 1974), pp. 28-40. His bibliography is a good aid.

47. Ibid., pp. 31-33 ff.

48. David DuPlessis, The Spirit Bade Me Go (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1970).

49. Dennis Bennett, Nine O'Clock in the Morning (Logos, 1970).

50. Quebedeaux, loc. cit.

51. There is a wealth of Catholic Charismatic studies and literature. Standard is Edward D. O'Connor, The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church (Notre Dame, ID: Ave Maria Press, 1971); Rene Laurentin, Catholic Pentecostalism, M. J. O'Connell, tr. (Doubleday, 1977); Joseph H. Fichter, The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete. Personal testimonies are numerous, but significant is the penetrating examination by Leon Joseph Suenens, Cardinal of Belgium and liberal activist in the early 1960's. His book, A New Pentecost? Francis Martin, tr. (NY: Seabury Press, 1975), hearkens to Pope John XXII 's prayer for a new pentecost for the Church in 1963.

CHAPTER III

PIONEER EFFORTS IN MISSOULA

> "And it was in the heart of David...to build an house for the Name of the Lord God of Israel... Can it indeed be that God dwells among men on earth?...Listen to the petitions of your people ...when they shall pray in this place...and when thou hearest...forgive."
>
> (Prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple, I Kings 8.17, 27, 30)

Compared to the Midwest, Montana had a scant number of Scandinavian immigrants. Some began to settle in Missoula in the 1880's. The 1890 census recorded just under 100,000 Swedes in Minnesota and only 3,771 in Montana. In 1900 there were 115,476 in Minnesota and only 5,346 in Montana.[1.] Still, the proportion of Swedes in Montana's sparce population involved a decrease from 4.6% to 3.5%.[2.] In 1890 Montana's population was only 132,159, jumping to 243,329 by 1900.[3.] The Swedes in both years numbered in Montana and Missoula county more than the Norwegian and Danish communities combined.[4.]

The Missoula County Swedish population in 1890 totaled 615, compared with an overall county population of 14,427.[5.] But this was not a stabilized ethnic group, because by 1900 the county had only half that number.[6.] The U. S. Census does not indicate how many people of Swedish origin resided in the Missoula township or city, and since Missoula county comprised then what later became Flathead, Ravalli, Sanders, Mineral, Lincoln and Lake counties,[7.] there could have been a considerable distributional spread.

The Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant in 1900 had 90% of its congregations in the North Central United States, with 35% of its

congregations in Minnesota alone.[8] Montana only numbered four congregations with 116 total members.[9] In comparison with other denominational traditions we find there were, in Montana, only six parishes of the General Council of Lutherans, and the largest Lutheran body in America, the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference, had only seven parishes. In contrast, the Presbyterians had sixty-two churches and the Roman Catholic Church, the largest, had ninety-one.[10]

The Bureau of the Census' special report of 1906 analyzed Swedish Evangelical bodies. These comprised 408 congregations, with 27,712 members nationally. The Swedish Evangelicals were divided, for the purposes of the report, into two organizations: the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant, with 281 congregations, and the Swedish Evangelical Free Mission with 127 congregations.[11] The latter grouping was the independent movement which refused to join with, and later tried to influence, the Mission Covenant. This organization had gained numerous congregations by wooing them away from the Mission Covenant from 1885 to 1900. The Free Mission later joined with the Norwegian Free Church in founding an entirely new denomination.

But a further source of depletion had ravaged the Mission Friends by the early years of the century. As earlier reported, 106 Mission Friend congregations were Swedish Congregationalists: in communication with the Mission Covenant, but in affiliation with the American Congregational Union. They had, in the 1890's, withdrawn from the Covenant in anticipation of an eventual merger of the Covenant with the Congregationalists. This comprised over one-fourth of the Covenant congregations.

The source for the statistics on Swedish Congregational churches was A. P. Nelson, an ordained Swedish Congregationalist who eagerly campaigned for the merger.[12] In building his case for merger he published in 1901 a Swedish edition of the History of Puritans and Pilgrims to help foster identity between the pietist traditions. This was followed a few years later by a work apparently designed to further assimilation, the History of the Swedish Mission Friends in America, in which he foresaw the day that the "three branches of Swedish-American free mission work (Covenant, Free, and Congregational) will be united." Since English would become the dominant language, the union would occur naturally with the Congregationalists.[13]

As stated above, the merger never happened. When this became apparent, the Congregationalists closed their Swedish Department at the Chicago Theological Seminary in 1916. Within a few years the Swedish Congregational Churches withdrew from the Congregational Union and began to affiliate with the Swedish Mission Covenant.

Nelson's history of the American Mission Friends provides some important details on the Swedish Congregationalists in Montana, the sole congregation being the Swedish Congregational Church of Missoula, Montana. He noted that home prayer meetings began in 1891 with only three people. The Church experienced increasing numbers, so that in 1893 it was able to organize a congregation composed of ten persons. From the start the group used the facilities of the American Congregational Church in Missoula without charge, at the invitation of Pastor O. C. Clark.[15]

Another history, focusing upon mission work in Idaho and Montana, noted that within a few years after Scandinavians came to Missoula, some who "believed in Jesus" hungered to come together "around the Word of

God for the preservation and growth of the spiritual life."[16] They simply began to gather in a cabin to read Scripture and pray. A man noted as E. Person preached "with freedom to the edification of the few Scandinavians who lived in the town." But it was two others, Frank Anderson and "Charlie" Olson, who began to lead the prayer fellowship into organizing a church congregation. They began a Sunday School for children, led by Emil Nilson.[17]

Maria Anderson was a zealous young woman who facilitated growth of the fellowship by "going from place to place with her guitar and singing and playing in homes to great encouragement for many." She later married Frank Anderson, and together they were mainstays in the congregation for many years.[18]

The Missoula congregation was organized formally as the "Scandinavian Christian Independent Church," March 27, 1893, with Frank Anderson as first officer and Gustaf Hedlund, Olof Nilson and John Larson as trustees of its physical needs.[19] The last time Person is mentioned in any history of the church is in the account of a December 2, 1893 meeting, where he was given a joint leadership position with Frank Anderson.[20] Probably he was to be their preacher with Anderson in charge of overall administration. The Montana-Idaho mission history, by Hogander and Blomberg, noted that Person returned to Sweden, where he was still living at the time of the writing, in 1912.[21]

The following year was uneventful except for the fact that at a congregational meeting, March 14, 1894, the group decided to build a missionshus, or church building, and discussed the means for collecting funds. They had $600 by January, 1895, and since two sites had been offered them by the First National Bank of Missoula, they proceeded

with building in February. David Erikson agreed to oversee the project, but it was understood that all construction labor would have to be voluntary. Most of the congregation lived on the north side of Missoula, so the site chosen was 520 West Spruce.

The building was completed in time for dedication on the Fourth of July, 1895, "for Jesus Christ's mission and to God."[22] The only other Covenant Church to have completed a building program in Montana was the First Scandinavian Evangelical Church in Helena, completed in 1890.[23]

After the building was completed in 1895 the question was raised as to whom the church property would belong. This led them to formally incorporate with the State of Montana, recognizing the officers as the executors of the property. The existing debt on the church building was only $650, of which $400 was assumed on loan by John Larson.[24]

The Missoula church at first had no affiliation. It is not known what the backgrounds of the organizers were, whether Mission Friends, independent, Lutheran, or Free Church. Its inclusion of "independent" in the name indicates that there was, at the outset, no intention of direct affiliation, or any predominant faction. But on December 27, 1897, they decided at a special meeting to join the American Congregational Union.[25] Throughout the years Frank Anderson was re-elected president, and apparently served as lay preacher. Ester Olson, in an interview, has stated she remembers as a young girl that Frank Anderson "was also a minister, and when we didn't have a minister he was a marvelous preacher."[26] He, with Charlie Olson and David Erikson, served to make arrangements for affiliation and prepare a constitution. He then went to the Montana Congregationalist Convention in Red Lodge, in September, and in the fall of 1898 was sent to the national Congregational conference to request finan-

cial assistance and an ordained preacher.[27] By 1899 a constitution had been prepared for the "Swedish Congregational Church of Missoula, Montana," though the name was legally changed in 1894.[28]

Anderson was freed from overall administration to be their preacher in 1898, and Charlie Olson was elected president.[29] At the June congregational meeting Anderson agreed to begin ministering on Sunday afternoons at the newly established mission in Bonner, where "not a few Scandinavians" lived.[30]

This mission was distinct from the German Lutheran congregation in Bonner. Ester Olson recalled that a small missionshus was eventually built in the early years of the century on the west side of the Clark Fork River, in Milltown, and remembered her father helping to build it. She said Anderson continued to preach and shepherd that congregation every Sunday for some years, as well as continuing to be active in the Missoula church. The parent congregation would send numbers, especially young people, to Milltown for Sunday afternoon meetings and there would be much singing. Travel was facilitated, she noted, by the use of the trolly cars.[31] It was likely an event of ethnic continuity as much as a religious service.

Shortly after Anderson went to the annual Congregational conference the group called its first full-time pastor, Oscar Dahlberg, from Gladstone, Michigan. It is probable that this Swedish Congregational Church was in contact with the Mission Covenant, because the local history records that the Mission Covenant denomination raised some question about the procedure of calling a Congregational pastor without consulting them. The records further indicated that the officials from the Swedish Mission

Covenant gave their recommendation for Dahlberg's call.[32]

Hogander and Blomberg stated that the Missoula congregation at that writing consisted of seventy members. It also noted that Missoula received financial aid from 1898 until 1911, when "it was decided not to ask for aid any longer, and since then the church has, instead of receiving aid, been able to aid others."[33] Whether that aid was in terms of foreign missions or financial assistance to other churches in Montana and Idaho is not indicated.

In Missoula, the members appear to have gone the way of other Swedish Congregationalists, who either were not compatible with the differences between themselves and the American Congregationalists theologically, or simply wanted to maintain the Swedish identity and saw the deterioration of Swedish Congregationalism. After the Missoula Swedish church withdrew from financial aid in 1911 it began association with the Swedish Mission Covenant. Missoula appeared for the first time among Covenant churches in the 1915 Mission Covenant Yearbook. But it still was parenthetically designated as a "Swedish Congregational Church." This identified :churches not formally affiliated with the Covenant but belonging to the Regional Conference, which at that time was called the Montana-Idaho Conference.[34] This identity appeared in subsequent yearbooks until 1923, when the annotation was dropped and the name was listed as "Swedish Mission Church."[35] There is no indication of the Missoula church being approved for affiliation in an annual meeting action, but this was probably a simple action by the national Executive Board, especially since there were so many Swedish Congregational churches changing affiliation.

The report in the 1922 Yearbook from the Montana-Idaho Conference stated: "In Missoula they are in process of separating themselves from the Congregationalists in order to join the Covenant afterwards."[36] In the local church records, a report by Pastor B. A. Person, summarizing events during his years (1920-1923), indicated that the process of disassociation from the Congregational Union and affiliation with the Swedish Mission Covenant was completed.[37]

The Missoula Covenant Church in the early decades of the century was essentially a closed ethnic religious entity, as was the whole of the Covenant predominantly. The desertion of many of the second generation Swedes coupled with the World War hostility in America to Germanic languages[38] began to force change. The Mission Covenant in America began to produce a publication in English, the Covenant Companion,[39] in 1921. But it wasn't until 1928 that the Swedish bias was overcome by vote of the annual conference, and English was declared the official language of the American Mission Covenant.[40] Thus, until 1929 all publications, except the Companion, and denomination records were in Swedish. Missoula was no exception. All records were in Swedish until the 1930's and most services were conducted in Swedish through most of the 1920's, including the sermons.[41]

The church in Missoula retained its Swedish flavor in the following decades, but gradually its makeup began to change, with increasing numbers of non-Scandinavian evangelical Christians. A notable example of the result of Covenant mission work among non-Scandinavians is that the last pastor at the Missoula church before the period under examination was Daniel Kim, a Korean Presbyterian. He studied in the United States with Covenant help and was awarded a doctorate from the dispensation-

alist Dallas Theological Seminary.[42]

There were three periods in this century when the Missoula church had no professional ministers: 1917-1920, 1925-1930, and 1932-1937.[43] There is no record, however, that the church closed down. According to the recollections of people interviewed, the congregation provided lay leadership during those years, just as Frank Anderson had preached and administrated the church in the early years. The reasons for the lack of full-time pastors in those years are not clear. Most likely, especially in the last two periods, numbers sagged because the general poverty of the congregation, heightened by the Depression, forced people to move elsewhere for work. Church membership was small (less than thirty full time) and remained unchanged until after the move to a new location.[44]

The name of the church was changed from "Swedish Mission Church" to simply "Mission Covenant Church," during its local golden jubilee of 1943. When new land was purchased in the then Missoula suburbs on South Avenue West in 1951, the name was officially changed to "Community Covenant Church," which was inscribed on the cornerstone in 1952. The congregation was changing in its perception with a move from the poorer, working-class area of the West and North sides of Missoula to the middle-class neighborhood on the South side. The denomination changed its name in the 1950's to "Evangelical Covenant Church of America," and so to reflect the new evangelical emphasis of the denomination, Missoula unofficially became the "Evangelical Covenant Church of Missoula" in the mid-1950's.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter III

1. Cf. U. S. Department of Interior, Compendium of the Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Vital Statistics, Pt. II, p. 601; and U. S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Population, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 735.

2. Ibid; Census, 1890, Population, Pt. I, p. 29.

3. Ibid; Census, 1900, p. 29. Montana's population increased 89% between these years.

4. Census, 1890, Pt. II, pp. 601, 649; Census, 1900, pp. 733-735. The Swedes in Montana were: 3,771, 1890; 5,346, 1900; Norwegians and Danes totalled: 2,640, 1890; 4,395, 1900.

5. Census, 1890.

6. Census, 1900, p. 251. There were only 335 Swedes in Missoula in 1900.

7. Out of Missoula emerged Flathead and Ravalli counties, 1904, Sanders, Mineral, and Lincoln, 1918, and Lake counties, 1925. Roberta Cheney, Names on the Faces of Montana (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1971), p. 270-275.

8. U. S. Department of Commerce & Labor, Bureau of the Census, Special Report: Religious Bodies, 1906, Pt. II, p. 631.

Minnesota had eighty congregations in 1900. The Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant had 281 congregations, with 347 ministers for a membership totaling 20,760. This was the first census where the evangelical Swedish bodies were reported. It is not known whether that total number of congregations included or excluded the 106 Swedish Congregational churches. But within this report the Swedish Evangelical Free Mission was included with the Mission Covenant, being listed as having 127 congregation, 148 ministers and membership totaling 6,952. p. 631.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., pp. 356, 361, 520, 575, 609.

11. Special Report, 1906, p. 495, 631.

12. Nelson.

13. Ibid., pp. 600-601.

14. "The Congregational view on the Scriptures, the new birth, the church, the ministry, the Christian life, the cardinal doctrines of

the faith, the sacraments, and a half a hundred other things were not the views of the Mission Friends fifty years ago. It was on the rock of spiritual and cultural dissimilarity that the ship of union split." Olsson, Spirit, p. 341 ff.

15. Nelson, p. 556.

16. S. Hogander and C. R. A. Blomberg, Hills and Valleys (Published by the Montana & Idaho Mission Society, n.d.), pp. 37-41. However, Sigurd Westberg, Covenant Archivist at North Park College, has ascertained the date was 1912.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. See official early church records, "History, 1893-1898," Church Register and Record: Community Covenant Church (Missoula, Montana), p. 82, translated by Ester Olson of Missoula. Hereafter this will be cited as Register.

20. Ibid.

21. Hogander and Blomberg.

22. Register, p. 84.

23. Hogander and Blomberg, p. 50.

24. Register, p. 84.

25. Ibid., p. 85.

26. Ester Olson, taped interview, Missoula, Montana, February 20, 1978.

27. Register, p. 85.

28. Ibid., pp. 70-76 (Suzanna Bylund, tr.). See Appendix. The church was incorporated with the State of Montana through the County Clerk and Recorder's office in Missoula, April 17, 1893, as "Christ Independent Church of Scandinavians," with Articles of Incorporation presented. Official church records, "Corporation Forms," file, Community Covenant Church, Missoula, Montana.

29. Register, pp. 85-86.

30. Ibid., p. 86; cf. Hogander and Blomberg, pp. 37-41.

31. Olson interview.

32. Register, pp. 86-87.

33. Hogander and Blomberg, p. 41.

34. Letter from Sigurd Westberg, Covenant Archivist, March 23, 1978.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. B. A. Person, Register, p. 103 (pp. 101-102 have been removed).

38. Olsson, Spirit, p. 507 ff.

39. Stephenson, p. 292.

40. Ibid.

41. E.g., Edwin Johnson, annual pastor's report is typed in Swedish, S. Bylund, tr. (n.d., estimated to be Winter 1924, "Covenant Churches: Law, History, etc." file, Community Covenant Church, Missoula; the amendments to the church constitution, dated January 3, 1934 are typed in Swedish with an English translation below, Register, p. 76 ff.

42. "Family Reunited after Six Years," by Evelyn King, Daily Missoulian, August 14, 1964, p. 18.

43. List of Covenant pastors in Missoula from 1898 to 1963, Register, looseleaf between pp. 2-3.

44. See Johnson's report. In 1924 the registered members numbered thirty, and membership was known among older members years later to have dropped below that during the 1930's.

PART II

EXAMINATION OF THE

LOCAL RENEWAL

CHAPTER IV

THE PASTORAL TRADITION: A TASTE OF OLD WINE

> "Keep watch over yourselves, and over the whole flock the Holy Spirit has given you to guard. Shepherd the church of God, which he has acquired at the price of his own blood."
> (St. Paul, speaking to the elders of Ephesus, Acts 20.28).

The Covenant Church in Missoula by the time of its Jubilee in 1943, was comfortable, if not entirely economically stable. This was a condition evident in many other American congregations from an evangelical background. It was on the edges of entering lower-middle class status, though it was still mainly composed of blue-collar workers from the north and west side of town. It was a cozy church with very little growth but "nice friendly meetings."[1] Religion, while an important part of these people's lives, was relegated to a social event in weekly life. The basic units for activity consisted of the women's and men's meetings, which helped raise money for foreign missions through bake sales, quilting parties, breakfasts, etc.; the weekly meetings of worship on Sunday morning and Sunday evening; and the mid-week prayer meeting. There is no indication that either on Sunday evening or at mid-week these activities ever included very many adults, though youngsters were expected to fulfill a certain obligation in attendance. As will be argued later, by the mid-1960's these functions existed to maintain evangelical status as a church assisting the evangelical mission to make converts rather than to fulfill the daily needs of the members.

The evangelical tradition requires periodic revivals, both for conversion of new members and recommitment of older Christians. But these

objectives were confined for the most part to the stimulation provided by professional evangelists. Also, as noted above, the Anglo-American revival techniques developed early in the Nineteenth Century emphasized one basic necessity for salvation: technical conversion. There was before 1968, with but few notable exceptions, little emphasis upon corporate growth in discipleship, or building a common life among the members, where they were continually, even daily, in contact with one another and sharing in one another's struggles. Holiness was traditionally--here again the influence of Lutheran pietism--something personal, where each one alone worked out salvation "in fear and trembling."[2.]

One woman who entered the church during World War II shortly after conversion recalled in an interview her excitement at being a new Christian, and could not understand why people "just went on with everyday life as if nothing had happened." Her desire to have this Christian experience touch every area of her life was short-lived because she "didn't meet many people that were thrilled with being saved. They believed in it, but were older Christians."[3.] It seemed to her that faith for many of the people had become an arrival point instead of the juncture from which to begin a new life. For her, faith must be renewed continually, and not simply be an adherence to a propositional statement. This was significant, because years later, in the middle sixties, when a young pastor began to challenge similar static perceptions of faith and the mission of the church with a call to continual renewal, he was confronted with staunch resistance.

Within the church there were various factions competing for control. As in most parishes or congregations, there were those who wanted

to maintain stability, boost status in the community and preserve the status quo. Others wanted more aggressive growth, either in membership or physical facilities. Some wanted what later came to be called renewal, whereby a greater depth of spiritual and common life would be nurtured.

Information is meager, but certainly some pastors were more dynamic than others. Where one pastor might work exceptionally well with youth, he would often have difficulty relating to the older members. Rev. Frank Poole was remembered as working well with both age levels, as was Henry Hoffman, who served to complete the new building complex in the early 1950's.[4]

John and Phyllis Page, who were active in the Missoula church since the 1940's, agreed that for them the church began to change spiritually when an older pastor, Rev. F. P. Kensinger, arrived.[5] Under him came the motivation to purchase another location and build a new facility. Though he left before completion, the work on the new facility was begun under him. But beyond the physical dimension was what the Pages saw as a spiritual vitality which "Pop K" brought. Not only Bible studies, but prayer meetings were developed on a weekly basis aside from the customary meetings. In these meetings there was a group gathered together to pray for the evangelistic message to go out in their everyday lives, not just through scheduled meetings with evangelists.

What was unique about the participants in these meetings was that they prayed for unity and spiritual renewal within the congregation. The Pages remember whole prayer times given to prayer for the Holy Spirit to fall in a fresh and powerful way.[6] They believed, in retrospect, that those intense prayers were not fully realized until the late 1960's, and certainly not in ways people expected.

John and Phyllis claimed that Kensinger, who entered the ministry when he was fifty, had experienced the pentecostal "baptism in the Holy Spirit" before he came to Missoula. Also, they believed there was unfortunately not an atmosphere where he could openly share that with the congregation. But he was, to them, a very sensitive and loving man who was able to bring a spirit of closeness to the fellowship. He and his wife were parent figures, evidenced by the warm nicknames "Pop and Ma K."

From their perspective as a young married couple in the early 1950's, the Pages felt that before the Kensingers there had been much bickering in the fellowship, though they couldn't recall the precise sources of discontent. Kensinger helped to mend the breach between people through personal warmth. He was, however, frustrated, according to them, because he wanted more outreach and growth from within the church.[7.] Consequently he left before the building project was completed.

He was followed by H. H. Hoffman,[8.] another older man, who was described as something of a "cowboy" in style.[9.] Hoffman has been portrayed as an aggressive man who pushed for the completion of the building program.[10.] In interviews of people who recalled those times, there was a distinct impression conveyed that the congregation was very tight and unwilling to commit itself financially.[11.] Quite likely this was a source of conflict. One former church chairman, in discussing the state of the church in the late 1960's said, "most of the people were of a very conservative background, mostly middle-class, conservative in all areas of their thinking...They wanted to run a close, tight ship."[12.] Many of these people he described had been active, or their parents had been active, at the time of Kensinger and Hoffman.

From another standpoint, the church was composed of people trying

to live the Christian life as best they understood it. Of the three catagories of Twentieth Century evangelicalism discussed above, elements of all three were present in the Missoula Covenant in various quantities beginning in the 1940's. There were also both people from pentecostal, or Assembly of God, background and anti-pentecostal dispensational backgrounds, though probably more of the latter.

Usually once a year there would be revival meetings with evangelists who were not necessarily of a Covenant tradition. They were more likely to be independent, revivalist-fundamentalists. These were brought in to stimulate the congregation and whoever else might attend. Interestingly though the meetings were to bring conversions, the vast majority in attendance were church members and their children.

One man, Marlin Edwards, who was an integral part of the leadership in the 1960's and left in the controversy about the renewal, recalled attending the church with his mother. He said he went as a boy only to please her. After he returned from the Navy he and his wife began to attend the Community Covenant in Missoula because he felt the need to be involved in a church and it was the most familiar to him. They also happened to live next door to the pastor, Hoffman. In January, 1956 a Rev. Halvor Ness, a Norwegian pastor,[13.] came for two weeks of special evangelistic meetings. The Edwards' ended up attending; on the final evening they went forward to the front of the sanctuary where they both made a commitment to Christ. Edwards observed that there were a lot of Christians who went forward for recommitment to Christ, which made it easier for him. "When we approached, many of the people were shocked; they thought we were Christians."[14.] The existence of such an attitude suggested a misunderstanding of the state of member's Christian commitment.

Marlin was encouraged by Pastor Hoffman to attend Prairie Bible Institute, in Three Hills, Alberta. Hoffman had trained there. Its main work as a four-year Bible college was to train missionaries in scriptures. It was a fundamentalist institution which took strong issue with dispensationalism, yet had no involvement with pentecostalism either.[15] It did view most of Christendom as apostate and was suspicious of Roman Catholicism. These years shaped not only Marlin's theology, but exalted his perception of his role in the church by the mid 1960's, as will be shown below.

Hoffman oversaw the completion of the new building and the move to the south side of Missoula.[16] The new location brought a degree of freshness and vigor to the church. The church grew, mainly because the congregation included many young adults with children. Where before it had been a neighborhood church, in the new location it was accessible only by commuting. Toward the end of Hoffman's period the church informally changed its name to "Evangelical Covenant Church of Missoula."[17]

Pastors, like priests, tend to be exalted by their parishioners both as ideal models of Christian behavior, and as Christians who can do more than ordinary members because they are being paid. There were few models in the Missoula Covenant Church which reflected the New Testament pattern of the pastor being both spiritual guide and the one to equip the members of the church to come into their own calling of ministry. Hoffman took exception to the prevailing norm and indicated as much to John Page. It seemed to him that the majority of church members wanted someone who would babysit them and "burp them." He didn't mind visiting members when they were sick or in need, but "instead of burping good healthy Christians, they should be helping someone else."[18]

Roman Catholics have traditionally assumed, at least before Vatican II, that if one received a religious vocation he or she would either become a monk, priest, missionary, or enter a convent, out of which his special talents would be utilized by the Church. Protestants, notably evangelicals, have reproduced a similar pattern. If you were called to minister it would be as a professional minister, or pastor-preacher, an evangelist, or a missionary. There have been few examples where this concept was challenged. Lay ministry did not emerge in large numbers at the Missoula Covenant until the mid-1960's. Previously, a lay person's religious life was confined to its proper sphere, and usually did not interfere with a business or professional vocation. Thus, within that religious sphere one could be a Sunday School teacher, a greeter, a deacon or deaconess, or serve on the local board of trustees, deciding the financial direction of the congregation. But there appears to have been little involvement of time, energy, resources even within those catagories.

Hoffman left in 1957 and went to the Billings Evangelical Covenant Church.[19] He was followed in Missoula by Richard Bennett, who stayed until 1963. Bennett's style aggravated many latent expectations in the church members, and also exposed considerable pettiness and bigotry within the church.

Bennett laid stress on counseling care for people, both within the congregation and without. There was a considerable expectation in the church that a pastor should fulfil his duty by attending to the worship, preaching, meetings and visiting. Where Kinsinger did not mind spending much of his time visiting the regular members, both Hoffman and Bennett

refused to do so unless there was a particular need, as when someone was sick. John Page recalled that particularly the older members wanted the pastor to do visitation, rather than someone without that authority. "If you were a deacon and went to visit someone, they (sic) never recognized it as being important. They wanted the pastor."[20]

Expectations of pastors and their families involved stereotypes. It was understood, but un-spoken, that the pastor's wife be involved in the ladies meetings, or Covenant Women, or that she give leadership to Sunday School. But since Covenant Women chose their leadership from within the established members, it was highly unlikely that she could hold leadership of the women's group. She was simply expected to be a member. Phyllis Page recalled that the wife of Rev. Campbell, who proceeded Kensinger, did not participate and this was a sore spot among the core members, especially the women. Bennett's wife, she said, did not go because she preferred to spend time caring for her children. This became a source of greater aggitation when Bennett later became ill, and she had to take on more responsibilities at home.[21] On the other hand, "Ma" Kensinger fit in well because she enjoyed participating in the women's group and she fit the stereotype of a pastor's wife.

The pastor was further rendered impotent because he was not automatically a member in the congregational meetings, with voting rights. His only force was moral or personal persuasion. The Pages offered an interesting perception of the control exercised by the established group in the church (which existed even years later). John said "the minister was the king-pin and they made him the king-pin. They wanted him to do everything. They weren't satisfied unless they had him stay right where

they wanted him."[22.]

A source of power within the congregation was located in the women's fellowship group. Ethel Southern, who came to the church during Poole's term and is still with the Missoula church, was quite active in Covenant Women from the time she joined the church until the women's group was abolished.[23.] She went further than the Pages in asserting that the power in the church rested with Covenant Women, and certain strong personalities who controlled it. "They tried to, I guess...run the church, tell the preacher what he should preach about, and they tried to mold him."[24.]

When Bennett became ill with an intestinal disorder he fell even further behind in meeting expectations. Then he had to have a series of operations. Finally a meeting was called to air complaints. The North Pacific Conference Superintendent, Carl Peterson, was brought in. Bennett was in the hospital, and was represented only by his wife. The accusations were mostly general. "The sense of things was that he spent too much time counseling with people outside of the church," and was involved in too many civic affairs.[25.] However, the Pages, especially Phyllis, said that they received counseling from him at a very crucial period in their lives. He was doing some coursework in psychology at the University, but whether he had a degree in psychology is not known. Their observation was that most of the complaints were precisely the ones raised years later against the pastor, Dan Simmons, during the renewal, and by many of the same people.[26.] The advice of the Superintendent was for them not to remove him, especially since the charges did not warrant it. That was about a year before he decided to leave.[27.]

What was most tragic was that there was very little spirit of cooperation, or any sense of family, where the people could get past their

differences and care for one another. It was so extreme that when Bennett was ill instead of supporting him several tried to get him removed. The only recollection of a mood of family closeness was with "Pop" Kensinger, who especially took time to visit the older, established members. This lack in intimacy would largely account for the insignificant growth of the church throughout these years. The mood of conflict and disharmony must certainly have contributed to the disinterest of young people in remaining in the congregation as they reached maturity.[28.]

When Bennett left in 1963 he was replaced by a man dramatically different not only from himself, but from all other predecessors. This figure was Dr. C. Daniel Kim, who had been a North Korean refugee from the Communists. He was a graduate of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in South Korea, from which he had been ordained a Presbyterian minister. But he accepted help from the Evangelical Covenant Church of America after he came to do graduate work in New York. Then he was financed to do doctoral studies at Dallas Theological Seminary, a theological mecca for dispensationalists. He received his doctorate in 1963, just prior to coming to the Missoula Covenant Church.[29.]

Kim came to the United States without his family in 1958, and was separated from them until the North Pacific Conference of the Evangelical Covenant Church was able to raise the money to bring his wife, Elizabeth, and two children, in September, 1964. His oldest son, John, arrived the previous December through a separate funding. One daughter remained in Korea, location unknown.[30.] Daniel Kim's time in Missoula was precisely three years, until August, 1966, when he accepted an offer to head a department of church history at the fundamentalist Minneapolis Central Baptist Theological Seminary.[31.]

Kim was almost idolized by the congregation, and was an exceptional figure for evangelicals in Missoula, not to mention the Covenant denomination. He was, first, a committed evangelical Christian, whose faith had withstood the fire of communist persecution. In America evangelical Christianity had been conditioned by the post-World War II fear of communism, and certainly shaped through much of the 1960's by the paranoia fostered through Sen. Joseph McCarthy in the 1950's.

Conservative factions in the United States joined with fundamentalists in anti-communist crusades beginning in the late 1940's.[32] In America, socialism has, since the early national period, evoked a considerable negative emotional response, especially among highly individualistic Christians. This has resulted in what amounts to a state of civil religion in America, especially among evangelicals, where Christian faith has been equated with American economic and political values.[33] Thus, much of the political rhetoric for the American action against Spain in 1898, as well as American entrance into both World War I and World War II, Korea and VietNam, has been religious in its invocation of the United States as God's righteous instrument against an enemy. But nowhere has that been more clearly invoked as in the confrontation with communist foes.

Kim was noticed in Missoula by the media for the unusual circumstances surrounding his arrival.[34] He was elevated as a symbol in the mid 1960's by a short-lived, arch-conservative newspaper in the Missoula valley, the Hellgate Herald. This weekly attempted to challenge what conservatives saw as the liberal influence of the Daily Missoulian. A 1966 article featured Kim's dramatic escape from communist Korea,

where it was emphasized no one was allowed to celebrate Easter (presumably the focus of the article). Following an account of his family's escape and separation from his parents and the one daughter, Kim commented, "this tremendous experience has made us realize the value of liveration and freedom. You never know freedom until you've had the experience."[35.]

During the time Kim was pastor in the Covenant Church in Missoula, there was only a suggestion of opposition to him, and it was a racist sentiment expressed by a few isolated individuals.[36.] The unanimity of popularity was due not only to the fact that he was ordained, but also that he was the first pastor whose title included "Doctor." Evangelicals, especially since World War II seem to have had a need for intellectual credentials and scholastic titles. They also have bestowed upon revered leaders honorary doctorates, especially upon individuals who have achieved either public visibility, such as Billy Graham, or leadership positions, such as the President of the Covenant since 1967, Milton Engebretsen.

It has been reported that Kim was an intellectual. Yet his popularity among people who had finished only high school was facilitated by a graciousness and gentleness in manner. He took great pains in getting acquainted with the members of his congregation,[37.] but he also met the pastoral expectations of the prevailing leaders. He wore himself out with visitation and maintaining a regular circuit.[38.] He also seemed to make the congregation his primary focus and few civic activities as beyond functions of the Evangelical Ministerial Association.[39.] All long-term members of the church interviewed - both those who left the church in 1970 and those who stayed - were united in their positive

assessment of Kim. There is, however, another side to Dr. Kim which will be examined later.

One factor in Kim's popularity was his strict, fundamentalist theology which was evident in his preaching and pastoral relationships. Fundamentalism, like much of its neo-evangelical offspring, is most generally concerned with the urgency of world evangelization, which is not so much concerned with helping Christians to live out the implications of the gospel regarding justice and mercy, as it is in making technical converts. The Evangelical Covenant Church in Missoula reflected this prevailing emphasis of evangelicalism, on making converts, and then instructing them against committing obvious, personal sins, such as drinking, smoking, or adultery,[40] while ignoring contemporary social implications of the gospel, such as war, racism and consumerism.

As mentioned before, the Missoula Church reflected both the older fundamentalism, where one needs the Bible only, and the more sophisticated neo-evangelicalism which emphasizes scholarly apologetics. Kim with his credentials exhibited the latter aspirations. The congregation was becoming a mixture of blue collar and white collar people, most of them with little education beyond high school.

Evangelicalism has been characterized both by its adherents and its critics, in terms of its attempts to formulate a unified doctrinal orthodoxy.[41] Donald Dayton, American church historian, has taken issue with this. He quotes John Wesley as having emphasized that, "doctrine is no part of true religion," and that a dead orthodoxy is no substitute for a vital faith.[42]

Another evangelical historian, Donald Bloesch, has observed a tendency among neo-evangelicals toward a "rationalistic biblicism" which

points to formal logic and a sensory, or subjective, empiricism to buttress claims of their faith. This, he says, is often jointed with a bias against traditional theology, while simultaneously borrowing selectively from it.[43] This has come quite close, especially among more militant fundamentalists, to bibliolatry. Evangelicals in the Nineteenth Century, in attempts to counter the claims of the emerging higher criticism, tried to prove the claims of the Bible through classical logic, utilizing the very tools for which they faulted the liberal scholars. The fundamentalist defense of Bible inerrency has betrayed an intellectual insecurity as to the authority of its faith. Fear concerning the possibility of errors within the written Bible are grounded in fundamentalist claims about the verbal inspiration of the Bible. The biblical authority that has often been asserted since World War II, in a more refined manner than the fundamentalist predecessors, has led to a narrow biblical literalism which has spawned rigid contemporary dispensationalism.[44]

H. L. McChesney, a lawyer who was twice church chairman at the Covenant Church, began to attend there in 1964 because of the strong evangelical message he heard Kim preaching. McChesney has observed that Kim stirred in the congregation an evangelical fervor, but one which was narrowly defined in the terms of the Dallas Seminary theological structure.[45] Marlin Edwards said he thought that for the years he had been involved at Covenant the period under Kim was the only time of real growth in the church.[46] That growth, from Edwards' perspective, was viewed numerically.

There was another quality about Kim that several noticed. Kim apparently had an ability to get people to take responsibility for cer-

tain functions without antagonizing them. People observed that he was a person who was hard to refuse.[47] As a result, there was some growth in numbers and experience among the long-term members of taking more responsibility in the church. However, growth was weak and dependent upon the personal charisma of the pastor, Kim. Three years was too brief for the unifying begun by Kim to last. Beyond that, the unity was shallow because it involved the implimenting and fulfilling of tasks and not the enriching of fellowship.

McChesney said that when Kim left in 1966 the congregation looked with excitement "to the leadership of a new pastor who would carry on the evangelical...spirit that we had."[48] John Page said that the deacons and trustees knew that it would be hard to "fill Kim's shoes" especially because all approved of Kim so completely.[49]

The church had considerable difficulty getting a replacement for Kim. It was customary for a pastor to remain in a congregation three months after accepting another call. Kim had received a call from the president of the Minneapolis Central Baptist Theological Seminary shortly after the first of August, 1966, and made his decision to move after consulting two weeks with the church board and North Pacific Conference Superintendent Peterson. He left August 22, in order to prepare for teaching in September.[50]

Superintendent Peterson helped the congregation to set up a selection committee and provided names of pastors they could contact as prospective candidates. Repeatedly the efforts came to a dead-end through the fall.[51] One man did come from Seattle to interview in the middle of October. A new pastor seemed assured when the congregation voted unan-

imously to receive him. He quickly wrote back that another congregation for which he had previously interviewed as an interim pastor had decided to call him full-time and he had accepted.[52.]

Throughout this period the responsibilities of the church were assumed by the church board and the church chairman, H. L. McChesney. McChesney did most of the Sunday preaching, though Marlin Edwards, a deacon who also had four years of training at Prairie Bible Institute, shared the responsibility with him. The church board had become desperate by the end of October and approached two other men who had expressed interest in working in a different congregation.[53.] Before the end of November both those possibilities were closed.

Peterson mentioned in a letter to McChesney, November 10, that he knew a man in Seattle whom he considered to be very "talented." He said that this individual had not yet completed college education and was presently employed by the Auburn, Washington Y. M. C. A.[54.] He reiterated this in another letter of November 23, stressing that given the passage of time the church needed to secure a new pastor quickly.[55.]

By the first of December the church was eager to interview anyone the Superintendent recommended. Peterson elaborated on this man's willingness to interview before Christmas, and emphasized his qualifications by noting that the Conference chairman, Frank Poole, who had been the pastor in Missoula in the early 1940's, strongly recommended him to them.[56.] That man was Robert Dan Simmons.

Simmons interviewed with the church board that December. McChesney, in recalling that meeting, has said, "I was very impressed with him because of his dynamic intelligence."[57.] Another deacon, Doug

Zimmerman, has observed that Simmons impressed him by saying that Jesus was the Shepherd and that he, though having pastoral responsibilities, would want to be a sheep with them. This was to emphasize his view that the whole church was to carry the responsibility of the ministry.[58]

A question arose in the interview over the fact that Simmons' background was, though evangelical, primarily pentecostal. He assured them that his main concern was to preach the message of Christ, and that there would be no conflict from his background in the Assembly of God.[59] The congregation decided, upon Peterson's and Poole's recommendations to call Simmons for one year at least. By the first of January he had been informed of the call and had accepted. The church offered him an improved salary package[60] and purchased a house next to the church to serve as the new parsonage.

It is obvious that each time a new pastor is called to any church he will do things somewhat differently from his predecessors and alter the mood of the church. However, with this new pastor the Missoula Evangelical Covenant Church turned a corner which would eventually transform its traditional form and its reason for existence beyond what its members in 1966 could imagine.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter IV

1. Ethel Southern, taped interview, Missoula, MT, March 7, 1978, p. 1.

2. Philippians 2.12 ff.

3. Southern interview.

4. Ibid. Frank Poole served, 1943-1944; Henry Hoffman, 1953-1957.

5. F. P. Kensinger served in Missoula, 1949-1953.

6. John and Phyllis Page, taped interview, Missoula, Mt, February 11, 1978, p. 6.

7. Ibid., p. 7.

8. Attempt was made to interview Hoffman, until it was learned he died December, 1977.

9. Southern interview.

10. Page interview, p. 7.

11. Members seemed, in the reflection of those interviewed, much more willing to give work or gifts in lieu of money. This continued as church members, after World War II, began to become more financially secure individually. Thus, their giving to the church did not correspond to their financial condition. This aspect will be developed in more detail, in chapter VI.

12. Harold H. McChesney, taped interview, Missoula, MT, February 9, 1978, p. 4.

13. Halvor J. Ness has remained a pastor within the North Pacific Conference of the Covenant, though he was never ordained. His license is renewed yearly upon recommendation of the Ministerium.

14. Marlin Edwards, taped interview, Missoula, MT, February 23, 1978, p. 1.

15. Snyder conversation, loc. cit.

16. Daily Missoulian, November 23, 1952.

17. The change was not officially filed with the Montana Secretary of State. It has had only three official names: Christ Independent Church of Scandinavians, April 17, 1893, Swedish Congregational Church of Missoula, March 2, 1894, and Community Covenant Church of Missoula, Montana,

August 24, 1952, "Corporation Forms" file. The informal change to "Evangelical" was during Hoffman's years, 1953-1957.

18. Page interview, p. 7.

19. Though Billings did not become an established church until the 1950's, and thus had unique problems, the state of factions and expectations was similar to that of Missoula. See "A History of the Evangelical Covenant Church of Billings, Montana," by John Bergman, (Chicago: Covenant Archives, North Park College, n.d.) pp. 5-8.

20. Page interview, p. 7.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Covenant Women, at Missoula Covenant, was dissolved in 1970 upon recommendation of the pastor.

24. Southern interview, p. 3.

25. Page interview, p. 7.

26. Ibid.

27. Private conversation with Phyllis Page, Missoula, MT, May, 1978. Bennett, who has since died, conveyed in his last yearly pastoral report a genuine appreciation of the people at the Covenant Church in Missoula. However, throughout the tone was apologetic, stressing that though sickness had taken him to the hospital, "my hours devoted to the work of the church has never been under 70 hours per week." He also listed ways in which the church saved money, and how frugal he tried to be. Richard Bennett, "Annual Report of the Community Covenant Church, Missoula, Montana," December 5, 1961, "Annual Reports, 1958-1964" file.

28. Marlin Edwards said that as a youth he did not want to attend church, but only went because of this mother. This may have been only youthful indifference. See Edwards interview. However, McChesney reported that he did not require his children to attend church as they approached adolescence because he believed there was little to attract youth. McChesney interview, p. 3.

29. Missoulian, August 14, 1964, p. 18.

30. "No More Easters in Red Korea," Hellgate Herald, Vol. 1/38 (Missoula, MT, April 7, 1966), p. 1 ff.

31. "Pastor Takes Seminary Position," Missoulian, August 20, 1966, p. 4.

32. Gasper spends considerable time analyzing the boost to fundamentalism in the late 1940's because of the fear of Communism (note pp.

115-123). Reading in this field is exhaustive. As examples, see Edmund Stillman and William Ofaff, Power and Impotence (NY: Random House, Vintage Books, 1966); The Politics of Hysteria (NY: Harper & Row, 1964); Ronald Steel, Pax Americana (NY: Viking Press, 1967).

33. Bellah. Progressive neo-evangelical, Francis Schaeffer, has been influenced by cultural assumptions about the United States, and hence makes a jump into civil religion. In his most recent book he discusses two ways in which the term Christian can legitimately be used. The first is that of an individual commitment to Christ. But the second is that of a "Christian consensus"--as exemplified, according to him, in the inheritance of Reformation ideals in the foundation of the U. S. constitution. For him this is a valid Christian concept. He concludes, toward the end of the book, the importance of a militarily strong West against the onslaught of a totalitarian East, implying its necessity for the preservation of Christian civilization. How Should We then Live? The Rise & Decline of Western Thought & Culture (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1976), pp. 110 ff., 247.

34. Evelyn King, loc. cit.

35. See "Easters" loc. cit.

36. Southern interview, p. 3; there was at least one letter received anonymously from someone in the neighborhood objecting to an Oriental living nearby.

37. Page interview, p. 4, McChesney interview, p. 2.

38. Page interview, pp. 4,8; McChesney interview, pp. 1-2; Edwards interview, p. 2.

39. Phyllis Page said that "Kim did spend an awful lot of time visiting...that was why they liked him." Page interview, p. 8. The only ecumenical position he held in Missoula was serving as an officer in the Missoula Evangelical Alliance.

40. In answer to the question, was there much teaching about having Christ ruling all areas of one's life, especially financed, business practices, etc., Harold McChesney said, "There was never any emphasis on the instrumentality of doing this. It was alluded to...but there was always this attitude of never allow it to go beyond the accepted structure of the Dallas Theological Seminary." McChesney, op. cit., p. 2. The only time the Pages could recall any experience of the church becoming close like a family was when Kensinger was there. Page interview, p. 6. Throughout the interview with Marlin Edwards, the central emphasis was upon evangelization and doctrinal teaching; no mention of the church being a community. Growth, as a church, was seen in terms of numbers of church members and the individual growth in what to him was right doctrine. See Edwards interview.

41. See this examined extensively by Bloesch. He points out that, "an evangelicalism divorced from the mystical and sacramental tradition

of Catholicism succumbs to a biblical rationalism and sometimes ugly sectarianism." p. 51. In examining the rise of a post-neoevangelical movement, called various names--Young Evangelicals, Radical Evangelicals, etc.--Richard Quebedeaux, The Young Evangelicals (NY: Harper & Row, 1974), critically analyzes this doctrinal emphasis of fundamental evangelicalism.

42. Dayton, "Where Now Young Evangelicals? An Historical & Theological Analysis," The Other Side, (March-April, 1975), pp. 31-37 ff.

43. Bloesch, p. 19 ff. Olsson, Spirit, pp. 528-529, has provided an excellent critique of fundamentalist scholarship and methodology. He finds that the early leadership attacked the conclusions of the German critics utilizing their methods, which they went to great lengths to repudiate.

44. Mouw has articulated a distinction which has held true well into the 1970's. The dividing line is the issue of biblical inerrancy (which can be differentiated from infallibility), an inheritance of fundamentalism. Those whose doctrinal base--which can become a substitute for active faith with a propositional "truth"--is defined by scriptural inerrancy are "militant" because of an offensive tact taken since WW II (see also Gasper, loc. cit.). These militants include both confessional evangelicals--such as Dr. Preus, president of the Missouri Synod Lutherans-- neo-evangelicals--such as Harold Lindsell--and certainly dispensationalists--such as Hal Lindsey (though the former two are much more decidedly militant). See also Dewey M. Beegle, Scripture, Tradition, and Infallibility, 2d. ed. (Eerdmans, 1973; copyright 1963, as The Inspiration of Scripture). The definitive examination of authority viz. church tradition and scriptural canon is, Karl F. Morrison, Tradition and Authority in the Western Church, 300-1140 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969).

45. McChesney interview, p. 2.

46. Edwards interview, p. 2.

47. Edwards said of Kim, "he had a way of getting you to do things that nobody else that I know did, and not in a way that would make you mad." ibid. JoAnne Zimmerman, who remained a part of the Missoula Covenant Church, has said, "he was a really strong personality. He could get you to do just about anything; he pretty much ran things." Doug and JoAnne Zimmerman, interview, Missoula, MT, April 17, 1978, p. 1.

48. McChesney interview, p. 2.

49. Page interview, p. 10.

50. Letter from C. Daniel Kim to Rev. Cabot Johnson, August 20, 1966, "Pastor's Personal Correspondence: 1966-1972" file (Missoula, MT: Community Covenant Church).

51. See letters of Superintendent Carl Peterson, North Pacific Conference, to H. L. McChesney, Church Chairman, August 19, 1966, and

October 5, 1966; Carl Peterson to Rev. Franklin Satterberg, Paterson, CA, September 15, 1966; Satterberg to Evangelical Covenant Church, Missoula, MT, September 26, 1966; Peterson to Mrs. Robert Semrud, Church Secretary, October 11, 1966, "Personal Correspondence" file, loc. cit.

52. H. L. McChesney to Rev. Morland Adell, Bellevue, WA, October 21, 1966, "Personal Correspondence" file, in which unanimous call issued. McChesney recalled, in personal conversation, that Adell wired them that he had been offered a fulltime position in Bellevue.

53. H. L. McChesney to Rev. Robert Christiansen, Stanley, Wisc., October 31, 1966; McChesney to Rev. Wallace Carlson, Azusa, CA., November 12, 1966, "Personal Correspondence" file.

54. Carl Peterson to H. L. McChesney, November 10, 1966, "Personal Correspondence" file.

55. Ibid. November 23, 1966.

56. Carl Peterson to Mrs. Semrud, December 2, 1966. Frank Poole, taped interview, (San Diego, CA, April 21, 1978), p. 1., confirmed the recommendation. Poole also stated he had presided as pastor in Missoula during the jubilee in 1943. He said he had been concerned to get the church moved from the north side to the expanding south side, and once tried to get a lot on South Avenue across from the Hale Airfield, where now is Sentinel High School, p. 2. He has had a reputation in the Covenant to help begin new churches, as he did later in Bellevuw, WA. See "Prize-winning Church Features Native Materials," by Joseph Kimbel, Christian Life, (July, 1964), p. 37.

57. McChesney interview, p. 3.

58. Zimmerman interview, p. 2.

59. McChesney interview, p. 3.

60. Carl Peterson to H. L. McChesney, October 5, 1966. Peterson noted that what he learned of Kim's salary forced him to point out that the church is far below average in salary. He strongly recommended they raise the salary to a $400/month minimum plus benefits, and added that January, 1967 the Conference mission support to Missoula would be increased $15/month. When McChesney was asked in interview, pp. 2-3, if the church was concerned about being on aid, he said "nobody seemed particularly concerned...This was a staid evangelical group where (they were) baptized, married, and buried."

CHAPTER V

CATALYST FOR CHANGE: A PERSONAL BACKGROUND

" O God, you know my folly, and my faults are not
hid from Thee.
Let not those who wait for You be put to shame
through me, O Lord, God of hosts."
(Psalm 69. 6-7)

In order to accurately perceive the dramatic cultural changes which the Covenant Church underwent in Missoula in the late 1960's, we must examine the background of the man who served as catalyst.

Since the early decades of this century the Covenant has accepted as pastors a considerable number of men who had neither a Swedish nor Mission Covenant background. Those included within the ministerium from outside have been, however, mostly from fundamentalist (even separatist-fundamentalist) and American evangelical backgrounds. Their training was also widely diverse. With few exceptions, those ordained by the Covenant must undergo some period of studies at, or by instigation of, North Park Seminary in Chicago, in order to acquaint them with the Covenant heritage and general theological temper.

Robert Dan Simmons' religious pilgrimage and eventual entrance into the Covenant ministerium possessed a uniqueness even among the pastors from outside the heritage.[1] He was born in rural New Mexico amidst Depression poverty, then moved with his parents to East Texas and experienced shocking exposure to the cruelty of life in the boom-town atmosphere of Borger. After a time in West Texas, war industry in California led his father to the coast first, and then he and his mother moved to Long Beach late in the fall of 1942.

Simmons remembered the strong dichotomy between pentecostals and non-pentecostals when he began to enter into the Assembly of God tradition after his mother, a Baptist, became Pentecostal in the late 1930's. In the Southwest of the 1930's fundamental Christianity was pervasive and dominated the leisure activities of the people. In farm towns, before the spread of radio and television, diversions were few. An all-day church function was a major social event where much personal transaction occurred.

Simmons has said that, though pentecostals and other evangelicals recognized one another as brothers, there was a deep sense of persecution by non-pentecostals, especially throughout the South and Southwest. He remembered crowds gathering, "throwing rocks through the windows of storefront churches. There was a lot of fear" from beatings and threats. "I remember, as a little kid, preachers talking about giving witness to having been stoned and run out of town, tarred and feathered."[2] The stereotype of pentecostals has been one of unbridled emotionalism, highlighted by the phenomenon of speaking in unknown tongues, which was first manifested at Pentecost when the church received the "power from on high," in the Baptism in the Holy Spirit.[3] That unique experience has been little understood in the history of the Church. For a Christian to have such an experience was socially scandalous, and these people were derisively labeled, "holy-rollers."[4]

Simmons described this tradition as being within the larger framework of the American holiness movement, which included those who were pentecostal and anti-pentecostal, and emphasized personal devotion, with legalistic abstinance from worldly pleasures, similar to pietism. This was accentuated by the fact that the people involved were very poor. A

high premium was placed within this religious framework upon spontaneity in worship and experiencing the presence of God.[5]

When he and his mother moved to Long Beach he discovered, at least in the Assembly of God tradition, that it was more sedate in Southern California than in West Texas, and even more subdued in the North.[6] His father abandoned them and his mother worked in factories. In the late 1940's he and his mother moved to Palo Alto, and discovered the Assembly Church was more diverse in its congregation. Here he had an unusual encounter with Bill Pickthorn, Dean of the Central Bible Institute, who Simmons said most deeply influenced his thinking. "He was atypical of the Assembly. He was...an intellectual, one of the most analytical minds that I've met."[7] There too, in his early teens, he experienced the baptism in the Holy Spirit through a man who had been Douglas MacArthur's chief photographer in World War II, Hal Hermann. "He was gentle and quiet-spoken and his preaching...was not in the Pentecostal style. He was intense in a subdued kind of way, thoughtful and sensitive."[8]

It was from this point that the sense of God's presence in his life became an anchor for him amidst a broken family and poverty. "It was the one place of reality I could not shake, though I made attempts to."[9]

The summer following that experience, before he was to enter ninth grade, Simmons contracted polio. Though only partially disabling him, the disease helped change his focus from an obsession with sports to more intellectual concerns. While in the hospital, Bill Pickthorn became pastor in his church and began visiting Simmons. He began to stimulate the youth intellectually and eventually instilled in him questions about the state of the Church and the drive of the institution to perpetuate itself.

He also encouraged expectations within the boy about what the Church could become in light of biblical principles.

That year, because of the polio, he attended on scholarship the experimental Meadow Park School, begun by some Stanford University faculty. It consisted of children from various social and economic backgrounds, and stimulated Simmons in a way no public school ever had. It was to be the finest school experience of his life. He returned the following year to public senior high school with a greater sense of self-esteem and confidence.

Another pastor, Ray Stedman,[10.] of the Peninsula Bible Church, recognized leadership qualities in Simmons and began to encourage him. Both Pickthorn and Stedman brought him into leadership responsibility with youth groups. Simmons has said that from the time of early childhood he believed he had a sense of God's call to serve Him. But he seemed always to dread being called to be a preacher. "I remember when I was young saying I hope God didn't call me to be a preacher because I wanted to be a Marine."[11.] Well into his adult years he struggled against that call.

Interestingly, Stedman--who in the 1970's became a renowned conference speaker in evangelical circles for his teaching on the spiritual unity of the Christian Body[12.]--headed an independent Christian church which was at that time not only non-pentecostal, but anti-pentecostal. Yet, it was he, more than Pickthorn, who personally befriended and cared for Simmons, and was a special strength to him in late adolescence when Simmons was disspirited. Ironically, though he knew Simmons' pentecostal background, he gave him responsibility for the high school youth groups, and years later invited him to join the staff regardless of his

background or theology.

When he and his mother moved to Palo Alto his family environment became even more unstable. They first lived with his brother. His mother cared for the house and Dan worked after school. Increasingly he changed residences, sometimes living with one sister or the other, sometimes renting a room by himself and working. One summer, while working in his brother's machine shop he lived in a boarding house in a black San Francisco neighborhood.

At sixteen he left high school and tried to join the maritime service but was turned down. He was insecure and felt driven to become important in society and effect change, partly because of his financial and family instability. In this state he felt considerable frustration with the church in general, yet experienced a great deal of love and affirmation from people within the church. Stedman especially was a stabilizing influence.

The frustration he experienced with the Church was that it seemed to deal with people's lives piecemeal. "I was looking for a more radical, biblical expression of the Church."[13] It was several years before he saw a more radical expression of love in a church, and it was not within the pentecostal tradition.

The spring after he turned seventeen he joined a skid-row lay mission work in Los Angeles, called the American Soul Clinic,[14] headed by Fred Jordan, a Baptist preacher. It was an experience that taught him a great deal about movements independent of the traditional church. The central mission was solely to make converts and save souls, in the American revival tradition. The mission was supposed to be supported by pure "faith," which in reflection Simmons saw as a manipulation of others

to donate money.

The lay recruits lived in five stories above a converted "flop-house." The main floor was a rescue-mission for winos. It was a rough neighborhood in Los Angeles, composed mostly of poverty-stricken blacks. These "missionaries" were to be trained and equipped for streetcorner evangelism. It was an intense but wonderful time of interaction with all kinds and temperaments of people, "blacks, pushers, and pimps."[15] During these three months he made several good friends, among them a converted ex-convict. It was not uncommon for Simmons to find himself witnessing to individuals in tavernsor to find an alcoholic prostitute crying on his shoulder. Though there were incidents that were potentially violent, basically he found most of the people, especially the alcoholics, gentle and harmless toward him.

Jordan--while proclaiming that his work was only an arm of the church--was vehemently opposed to the institutional church. He had his own newspaper and television show. During the three months Simmons was there, he was heavily propagandized by Jordan's prejedices. Jordan "frankly stated that the intention there was to brain-wash us, and it was a very traumatic time."[16] In signing up they had to agree they would not participate in any organized church. They worked long hours and lived on a very poor diet, culled from discarded grocery and bakery items.

A central stimulus to the work was guilt: if Christians did not witness, which meant verbal encounter,[17] they were guilty in God's eyes. "How mahy times I heard the text from Ezekiel (33.6):' Watchman, if you don't cry out, the blood of the people will be upon your hands.' That mind-set pervaded everything."[18] The primary virtue was zeal. One

young man everyone envied was thrown in jail for creating a disturbance by preaching on public buses. On other occasions this person would sneak into movie theaters--"he didn't believe in paying the devil"--yell, "fire, fire" in order to get people's attention, and then announce "there's fire in hell without Jesus Christ!"[19]. This style and its results were viewed as corresponding to the Apostle Paul's. Years later Simmons perceived such burlesque scare tactics as antithetical to biblical evangelism.

The other main virtue was to go out like the early apostles without any visible means of support, trusting by "faith." Yet the workers knew and struggled with the fact that the operation was supported by people who were working, and the board of directors was composed of some wealthy laymen. "It was such an oppressive atmosphere that to raise those kinds of questions was rebellion and was greeted with hostility."[20]. Even after Simmons left he struggled at one point to live without working, by "faith," in which he did some lay-preaching. He also had the experience of preaching in a black church, which was unique to a white adolescent in the early 1950's. Eventually he was able to overcome Jordan's teaching and resume working.

One other experience was important in shaping his understanding of legalisms and church structures. In this instance, it was through exposure to a rigorous form of the holiness tradition. While at the American Soul Clinic he met an Indian holiness preacher, Jack Pap, who spent some time there with his family. Pap was a Potowatomy Indian who worked among his people in Michigan. The particular form of holiness of his people was anti-pentecostal and extremely legalistic. It had evolved out of Wesleyan Methodist teaching concerning entire sanctification.[21]. This

asserted that in seeking God one sought for a total instantaneous sanctification, or cleansing of sin, born out of crisis. Like classic pentecostalism, it created its own sub-culture or even counter-culture, complete with a decidedly negative morality (eg. taboos against smoking, dancing, drinking, and especially worldly dress).

The thrust of an experience of entire sanctification was that presumably the Holy Spirit had eradicated the root, and hence inclination, of sin. This posed a dilemma. Simmons observed that "sensitive people had nervous breakdowns" because they were very conscious of their own failings and sins. Thus, to sin meant one had wilfully violated God's work. To be again "born again" was to be approached with even more caution--and dread. "Others who were stronger or less sensitive developed a kind of legalistic brittleness" which drove them to prove by outward forms that they were justified.[22] Hence, they became callous to their own failings.

Jack Pap invited Simmons to visit them in Michigan. They had a farm which had been converted to a summer camp, where they would conduct revival meetings similar to the frontier camps.[23] They intended for it to become an orphanage for Indian children. He went ostensibly to assist as a youth leader.

The experience of this form of holiness both contrasted and complimented his childhood experience of pentecostal holiness. Though composed of Indians and whites, the code was consistently severe. "The dress, behavior and theology were all very hard." Women wore long dresses, no make-up; the men wore black. This represented denial of the world to them, but too often indicated spiritual justification (adequacy). Further, there was tension and resistance to people who visited but were not part

of their tradition. It was scandalous to them that a woman would wear a bright-colored sundress. Yet the people could also be very loving.[24.]

Simmons assisted with the camp meetings and did odd jobs around the place. But he was still staggering emotionally from the impact of the Soul Clinic, especially the compulsion to witness through guilt and the drive to prove one's faithfulness by not working "in the world." He had very little emotional reserve to offer. Gradually the goal to create an orphanage proved to be distant and he returned to San Francisco to work again for his brother.

The experience in Michigan was valuable to him years later when he saw different forms of legalisms expressed in traditions within the Missoula Covenant Church. In his judgement, the rigid forms of worship and meetings served as props to justify the existence of the church.

The pentecostal world underwent considerable change in the 1950's as did much of fundamentalism. A separatist movement within pentecostalism emerged in the late 1940's, called the "Latter Day Rain" movement,[25.] and Simmons had contact with elements of this, especially some of the more individualistic, flamboyant preachers and missionary-evangelists, A. A. Allen and T. L. Osborn, respectively.[26.] He received offers to join the staff of some of these operations, but avoided moving into that style of preaching. He said he yearned for the Church to be different, somehow "more organic and involved"[27.] in people's lives. With the advice of a friend, Don Johnson, who became his brother-in-law, he returned to high school, took the GED examination and entered Northwestern College, as Assembly of God liberal arts school in the Seattle area.[28.] Here he continued to struggle with a sense of calling to become a pastor

set against a vague concept of what the Church should become. The school only heightened the conflict. Social pressure to conform was intense. "Intellectually, the school was a dead-end for me. It was basically propagandizing, I felt."[29] The questions of theology and church-life, in many ways stimulated by his contact with Pickthorn and enhanced by his experiences in Los Angeles and Michigan, were met with pat answers. Critical dialogue was discouraged.

Unable to continue in this atmosphere, he left the school before the end of his first year. Returning to Palo Alto, he was flooded with anguish about his inability to complete work he had begun, and guilt that he had failed. He began to work and attend San Mateo Junior College, while taking care of his mother, who was recovering from a nervous disorder. At that same time he learned his father had died. He found the college very stimulating, but had to leave because he could not attend and fulfill his other responsibilities.

During this time he entered into a deep depression. He began to feel that, though he was only eighteen, his life was finished and devoid of meaning. Yet despite his questions about the Bible, theology and the Church, he could not shake the authentic experience of Christ's gospel. At one point his frustrations erupted, and he cried out "I believe in Jesus Christ and his gospel a thousand times over," even though it defied his ability to comprehend it.[30] The reality of that confession stayed with him in the years that followed.

He went through numerous jobs and ended up as an aquatics instructor. He avoided offers to enter into the ministry. During this time he married and moved to Seattle. After several jobs he and Leola, his wife, accepted the management of a halfway house for juvenile delinquents.

After that he became aquatics director for the Seattle-area Y. M. C. A. and employing a wide range of management techniques, brought the program to where it was self-sustaining, independent of Y. M. C. A. funding.

Throughout these years the Simmonses attended a number of churches, but Dan was critical of what he saw. Internally he was still in conflict, which was largely projected on his perception of the Church. They attended a Presbyterian church and then an independent Bible church. He found himself praying to God to reveal His will, but knew deep inside that God had made it clear that his calling was to the pastorate. He said he refused to acknowledge the call and ran from it.

Early in 1962 he was told about an Episcopal priest who had had a pentecostal experience and yet remained a priest. At that time, in 1962, this was an anomaly. Then his brother-in-law mentioned to him in the early summer that he had heard of this priest while he was in California. The priest was Dennis Bennett, formerly of St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Van Nuys and rector of St. Luke's in Seattle since 1960.[31.]

That summer he and Leola attended a Friday night prayer meeting and were deeply moved by the authentic warmth and spontaneity they experienced. Sunday they went to worship and the contrast was profound. Not only was it the Anglican service, but it was high church liturgy. Though this was no worship form he had ever experienced, there was the familiar evangelical message in the preaching. Bennett has remarked, in his personal story as an Episcopal priest, that, whereas before his pentecostal experience he had never entered a pulpit without a well-prepared manuscript, after the experience "I found myself laying my manuscript aside and beginning to speak the words which the Spirit gave me on the spot." Further, since he came to St. Luke's his only preparation was working

with people all week long, in prayer, and reading scripture. "The raw material was there, and I trusted the Holy Spirit to put it together."[32.]

Equally important for the Simmonses was worship. They came to discover "a real richness in the liturgy at the Episcoal church, the prayer book, and communion; this was new to us."[33.] Strangely, Simmons found that, after the initial culture-shock, the roughly twenty-five years of cultural conditioning fell away rather quickly, especially in the presence of what for him was a rich vitality of church life. It met, in many ways, the expectations about the Church he had developed since adolescence. The basic principles were not new, but they were in a different setting entirely, and elicited different responses. Neither was there the "excess baggage of legalisms, intellectual stagnation, (nor) barren styles of worship."[34.]

Leola Simmons had grown up in a rigid and legalistic Assembly of God atmosphere, which emphasizes unquestioning obedience, especially regarding the literalism of scripture.[35.] Yet, in some ways her background ironically prepared her for what she encountered at St. Luke's She loved the liturgy, in part because,

> I was always taught a real reverence and holiness about God's house...I so disliked (it) when worship services would become casual...At. St. Luke's it was so beautiful.

Further, for her Communion, or the Eucharist, clearly represented God's truth. It was the heart of the Church. For her, beginning from that time, "that was truth when nothing else was truth...communion is central."[36.]

A family crisis crystallized this new direction very soon after they began to attend St. Luke's. It was learned that their youngest child, Shanna, had a rare brain-wave condition, whereby she could not be

expected to develop as a normal child. She was, in fact, expected by the doctors at the Children's Orthopedic Hospital in Seattle to be unable ever to feed herself, walk or talk. The Friday evening they learned of the diagnosis they went by St. Luke's hoping to find someone remaining after the prayer service. Some people joined with them in prayer, led by a neurologist who prayed with real insight.

Earlier Dan had called Bennett's home and left word for him about Shanna's condition. The next morning they were notified by a parishoner that Bennett's wife, Elberta, had died Friday evening of cancer.[37] Saddened, they left to visit Shanna at the orthopedic hospital. What occurred when they arrived touched them both in a way few experiences have. Preceding them into the hospital parking lot was Father Bennett. Only hours after his wife's death he went to pray at Shanna's bedside. Simmons had not known previously such a profoundly tender depth of pastoral care. Shanna afterwards miraculously began to develop somewhat normally. Though some level of retardation remained, she grew to become a functioning member of the family and the church. Eventually she was able to attend elementary school, with special help.

They soon entered into the process of becoming members. Simmons became a lay pastoral leader. He was exposed to dimensions of Christian faith he would not have considered possible. It was, for example, totally foreign to encounter a man with an evangelical commitment holding a liberal position politically. Previously, in his frame of reference, "to be an evangelical meant being a conservative Republican."[38] In another vein, it was refreshing to see prayer for healing devoid of the flamboyance which accompanied such prayer in a classic pentecostal tradition.

The calling to pastoral work began to press internally more than ever. For the first time in years he began to use his unknown language as a part of interior prayer. He remembered praying, "God, I can be more effective for You if I'm not a professional Christian." In his interior he had a rare experience of God impressing upon him the declaration, "Did I ever ask you to make the judgement about how you could be most effective?" This was followed by another question, "do you trust Me with your life?" He realized he had been unwilling to trust God. At this juncture he was finally able to pray:"I don't know how you're going to use me, my personality, or my response to the Church, but I guess that's Your problem. Whatever doors you open I will attempt to enter them by Your grace."[39.]

The first logical place to explore was the Episcopal Church. Father Bennett told him that, in fact, he could work toward ordination through the "Old Man's Canon" which would give him credit for his experience and training. But Simmons came to see that he had a problem with a specific and crucial dimension of Episcopal doctrine, that of infant baptism. He did not object to the possible validity or meaningfulness of it, but his objection lay in that it was required by canon law. This helped dissuade him from the Episcopal pastorate.

During this time he also explored the possibility of proceeding into the pastorate through an independent, or even free church. This was because of his deep struggles with denominational authority and its drive toward conformity. Also, the example of Ray Stedman, who was pastor of a successful independent church, indicated to him that this was the way to avoid the pitfalls of a denomination. Thus, he and Leola began to attend an independent Bible church and met with the leaders

to explore possible places of calling. It was an eye-opening experience, because he soon saw rigidity in its constitutional structure and leadership. "I saw what I had not seen before, that this church didn't avoid any evils or pitfalls of a denomination. It was simply its own denomination."[40] From that point on he no longer sought to be involved in an independent church movement. Neither did he see any validity in creating one himself.

After the Episcopal Church was closed for him, he prayed and discovered himself thinking of the Covenant Church. He had visited one in Palo Alto with Don Johnson years ago, but given the number and variety of different kinds of churches he had visited over the years this was a surprise. He had liked what he had seen. They were "evangelicals reasonably free of legalisms, with a positive sense about the gospel."[41] Leola has said that she and Dan "couldn't see raising the girls in the same tradition we were raised in."[42] They wanted the girls' experience of God to be free of the cultural problems which they had known.

The pilgrimage of the Simmonses corresponds in many ways to that of many who were raised since the 1930's in a separatist or militant fundamentalist environment. Thus, they found themselves uncomfortable with both fundamentalism and much of neo-evangelicalism, yet unable to be satisfied with liberal theology because of their basic evangelical Christian commitment. Often, however, as the 1960's developed, they felt more comfortable with socially conscious liberals than with many of the evangelical establishment who defined themselves as the silent majority.

For many it was first the silence of the evangelical press--and then its later criticism of dissent--regarding the civil rights

movement and the VietNam War which helped alienate them from their religious roots. Wes Michaelson, who became a legislative aide for Mark Hatfield at the end of the 1960's, has said: "I became dissatisfied with my roots!...I just came to feel that there was no kind of adequate Christian response to the war."[43] Several publications arose in the 1960's and then in the 1970's trying to raise a strong voice of evangelical social protest rooted in Christian community, and helped spawn in the 1970's what has been called "Radical Evangelicalism."[44]

Dan had then been transferred to begin an aquatics program in the Seattle suburb of Auburn, miles from St. Luke's. There they began to attend Midway Covenant Church,[45] and experienced worship which was quiet and seemed good to them. He also approached Carl Peterson, the Superintendent of the Covenant North Pacific Conference, and conveyed to him the direction of calling he was testing, as well as relating his background. "Carl was very fatherly and affirming."[46] He encouraged Simmons to begin by entering into the life of a Covenant Church, which for them was Midway.

Opportunities rapidly opened up for Simmons to serve in the Covenant Church conference. He became a "supply preacher" for congregations in need of a preacher for single Sundays. Then he began to be called to preach on a more regular basis. This developed without any extensive probing on Peterson's part into Simmons' background. He also served on some conference boards. This continued for two years, while the Y. M. C. A. work in Auburn developed well.

Finally, in 1966 Peterson approached him about being called to a small congregation in Nelson, B. C. Before he was called to be a candidate they had approved another, interim pastor. Then in the fall a

door opened in Missoula for him to be interviewed in December. Though he went with little expectation or anticipation, he wanted to be open to the move. "I sensed that whatever I was involved in, God was renewing the church."[47] One woman indicated a strong hunger for change, and expressed hope that he would come because she believed he was called to be a catalyst for change.[48] He did, and the family moved in mid-February, 1967.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter V

1. Dan Simmons, (hereafter cited DS), senior pastor of the Community Covenant Church of Missoula, 1967 - , taped interviews, Missoula, MT, I January 31, 1978, II March 16, 1978, III 24, 1978, IV April 3, 1978. The bulk of this chapter is condensed from these interviews focusing upon his personal religious pilgrimage.

2. DS interview, January 31, pp. 1-2.

3. Luke's Gospel ends with the risen Jesus, prior to his ascension, saying to the disciples, "I will send down upon you the promise of my Father. Remain here in the city until you are clothed with power from on high." (Luke 24.29) This is picked up in Luke's second letter, the "Acts of the Apostles," when Jesus states, "Wait...for the fulfillment of my Father's promise, of which you have heard me speak." (Cf. John 14, 16-17, 25-26; 16.5-15) "John baptized with water, but within a few days you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit...You will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes down on you; then you are to be my witnesses in Jerusalem, throughout Judea and Samaria, yes, even to the ends of the earth," (Acts 1. 4b-5, 8) which then began at Pentecost (Acts 2), through which the Church received the power of the Holy Spirit to be equipped to communicate the gospel. Pentecostals maintain that the experience of the Holy Spirit's infilling is unique and even distinct from conversion, though it can occur at the time of conversion. Strict scriptural constructionists argue there is no distinction. This has been--especially in light of the distinct behavior of the pentecostals, or charismatics, a central source of adversity--between pentecostals and non-pentecostal Christians.

4. Savelesky, pp. i-ii ff.

5. Niebuhr, in Social Sources, pp. 30-31, has said:

> "Where the power of abstract thought has not been highly developed and where inhibitions on emotional expressions have not been set up by a system of polite conventions, religion must and will express itself in emotional terms. (Here)...spontaneity and energy of religious feeling rather than conformity to an abstract creed are regarded as the tests of religious genuineness."

This religion of "untutored and economically disfranchised classes," is not allied by culture or interest with ruling classes. From the outset Christianity addressed the poor and powerless; there was a deep appreciation of,

> "the radical character of the ethics of the gospel and greater resistance to the tendency to compromise with the morality of power...Simple and direct in its apprehension

of the faith, the religion of the poor shuns the relativization of ethical and intellectual sophistication and by its fruits in conduct often demonstrates superiority moral and religious."

There is an interesting aspect of the spontaneity within classic pentecostalism, which Simmons related. Speaking about one older woman loved by everybody, and endearingly called, "Mother," he said:

> "You'd be sitting in church and she'd let out this indescribable scream, like a war-whoop...and sometimes I'd come maybe a foot off the pew as a little kid, not expecting that. And people would kind of smile and maybe someone would say, 'Well, Praise God, Mother Brand got blessed!' and that was it, it was totally acceptable."

He described that at other times worship would open up with spontaneity especially at the conclusion with an altar call:

> "There could be little ladies kind of dancing in the aisles often waving a white handkerchief in the air as they danced, in the Lord. I remember one time (the altars were always substantial structures) there was a woman, she must have weighed 300 pounds, dancing across the altar rail, at the conclusion of the service with her eyes closed, with her handkerchief--and doing little piroettes and spinning around, just praising the Lord and caught up in what would be called an ecstatic state. Everybody knew it was 'in the Lord' or otherwise she would have fallen off! The test was that she stayed up there!" Interview, January 31, 1978, p.4

6. Ibid, p. 5. His pastor in Long Beach was a woman who did a "good job."

7. Ibid. Correspondence from Pickthorn was still being awaited at this writing. According to DS, Pickthorn was an originator of the concept of the church as a "Christian Life Center" which was utilized in the 1970's by some Assembly of God churches attempting to move away from a sectarian label.

8. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

9. Ibid., p. 6.

10. Stedman has become a nationally famous speaker at evangelical conferences, notably the National Association of Evangelicals, for his pastoral theology and inspirational teaching. He is author of numerous books, notably, his first, Body Life (Glendale, CA: Regal Books/G-L Publications, 1972), which is the story of Peninsula Bible Church. Billy Graham, in the forward, stated that Peninsula is "one of the most dynamic company of Christian believers on the West Coast."

11. DS interview, January 31, p. 7.

12. See Stedman, Body Life.

13. DS interview, March 16, p. 1.

14. "Fred Jordan was a Baptist and in his guts was anti-pentecostal," and anti-church. The Soul Clinic "came on as sort of the radical, militant perspective of the church: a lay movement, training and equipping people and sending missionaries out, not overseas, but door-to-door, witnessing, evangelism, etc.; street-corner...but also into other cultures." ibid., pp. 1, 2.

Gasper, p. 89, mentions the American Soul Clinic, Huntington Park, CA, out of which came clubs for high school youth on the East Coast. This was part of a massive fundamentalist high school-youth movement in the late 1940's and early 1950's.

15. DS interview, January 31, p. 8.

16. DS interview, March 16, p. 2.

17. "Witnessing" in strict evangelical circles has meant telling someone about Jesus Christ in a direct way. Note Rom. 10.17. "Witnessing didn't mean then what it has come to mean to us, living out the life of Jesus, but it meant speaking the word." ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. See Quebedeaux, Charismatics; Foster, loc. cit., develops the evolution of sanctification throughout American theology, with the Wesleyan influence from England in the late Eighteenth Century, early Nineteenth. Smith, pp. 114-134, devotes an entire chapter to this dimension,"Sanctification in American Methodism," followed by "Revivalism and Perfectionism," pp. 135-147.

22. DS interview, March 24, p. 1

23. See Bernard A. Weisberger, They Gathered at the River (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958).

24. DS interview, March 24, p. 1.

25. David Edwin Harrell, Jr., All Things are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in Modern America (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1975), has noted, p. 258, that the controversial ideas associated with the "latter rain" movement may be found in the Minutes of the 1949 General Council of the Assemblies of God (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1949), pp. 26-27.

26. Harrell, discussed T. L. Osborn and A. A. Allen extensively, pp. 63-74, 169-171, 194-205 ff., as well as a whole generation of

faith healers and innovators in the charismatic renewal as it emerged in the 1960's, eg. Oral Roberts and Bill Branham.

27. DS interview, March 24, p. 2.

28. Bill Pickthorn did a doctoral dissertation dealing with the process of institutionalization of the Assemblies of God, using American Methodism as the control group. In that analysis the Assemblies institutionalized at a rate five times faster. One important facet in that institutionalizing--and hence social acceptance--was the establishment not just of Bible colleges, but quasi-liberal arts programs. Their faculty training did not keep pace with the process and hence suffered in quality of education.

29. DS interview, March 24, p. 2.

30. Ibid., p. 3.

31. Bennett.

32. Ibid., p. 104.

33. DS interview, April 3, p. 2.

34. The loose structure, born of the anti-sacramental, anti-liturgical prejudice within fundamentalism, gave little room for interior response when the leader simply orchestrated supposedly heartfelt response. "There's nothing deader (sic) in worship than a gone-to-seed pentecostal worship very heavy, very labored." DS interview, March 24, 1978, p. 4.

35. Leola Simmons, taped interview, Missoula, MT., February 10, 1978.

36. Ibid., p. 3.

37. Notably Bennett, who has had a remarkable ministry in charismatic healing, suffered the loss of his daughter, Margaret, to cancer, May, 1978. The following Sunday he assumed his place in worship leadership and continued his routine of ministry.

38. DS interview, March 24, p. 4. John F. Alexander, editor of the Radical Evangelical magazine, The Other Side, was raised a "separatist-fundamentalist," and charted his struggle with the accomodation of neo-evangelicalism to cultural values of the conservative status quo in America, and how it especially struck him when President John Kennedy risked nuclear war over the missiles in Cuba--and to him the Russians seemed within their rights when we had missle bases poised in Turkey--and evangelicals seemed to applaud the action. He had also, by that time in 1962, rejected the content of fundamentalism. "The Making of a Young Evangelical..." The Other Side, (March-April, 1975) pp. 2-4 ff. Many young evangelicals in the 1960's who had similar experiences helped develop the transformation, or mood, known in the 1970's as Radical Evangelicals, whose political temperament has been decidedly more leftist than rightist.

Jacques Maritain, reflecting on the implications of Vatican II in the 1960's, observed that people of a rightist temperament (which is political as well as philosophical) will prefer in a polarized situation "injustice to disorder." They will end up detesting popular demands both for justice and charity. He said further:

> "Considering the circumstances in which a given country finds itself at a given moment, it is impossible for anyone who takes political realities seriously not to orient himself either to the right or the left."

In times of trouble these political formations become little more than "exasperated affective complexes carried away by their myth ideal," serving in the end only passion. He identified his temperament ethically and politically as more leftist than rightist vis-a-vis the biblical demand for justice and mercy. Peasant of the Garonne (NY: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1968), pp. 22-24.

39. DS interview, April 3, p. 1.

40. Ibid., p. 2.

41. Ibid.

42. Leola Simmons interview, February 10, p. 3.

43. Wes Michaelson, editor of Sojourners magazine, taped interview, Missoula, MT, October 10, 1977.

44. Sojourners was first called The Post-American; besides The Other Side, The Wittenburg Door, and Inside (no longer publishing except as a newsletter modeled after Common Cause). Cf. Quebedeaux, Young Evangelicals, and Dayton, "Where Now."

45. Midway Covenant Church is in Tacoma, WA.

46. DS interview, April 3, p. 2.

47. Ibid., p. 3.

48. He indicated that the woman was Betty Anderson, who came to the Covenant Church the year Kim left, ibid., p. 3. Betty has confirmed that recollection. Private conversation with Betty Anderson, Missoula, MT, May, 1978.

CHAPTER VI

SEEDS OF RENEWAL

> "May Christ dwell in your hearts through faith, and may charity be the root and foundation of your life...Let us profess the truth in love and grow to the full maturity of Christ the head. Through him the whole body grows, and with the proper functioning of the members joined firmly together by each supporting ligament, builds itself up in love."
> (Ephesians 3.17; 4.15-16)

During Dr. Kim's time the Covenant Church in Missoula had attempted to foster growth by gaining new members. The church records indicate that a considerable number of people, including adults, were baptized.[1.] Kim also had inaugurated a program instituted by Covenant headquarters, called the "under-shepherd" program, where lay leaders were to provide city-wide oversight and visitation to members and potential members. Carl Peterson, in his correspondence with potential pastors to succeed Kim, referred to an extensive growth in Missoula.[2.]

This, however, was an inflated record.[3.] People had come who already perceived themselves, at least nominally, as Christians and were baptized and even re-baptized.[4.] Simmons was unable to remember anyone who had been baptized in that period still being active in the church when he arrived.[5.] Several people, however, who were to have considerable involvement in Simmons' early years came during Kim's tenure--Frank and Viola Bretz, Betty Anderson, H. L. McChesney, among others. In addition, there were very few young adults or adolescents.

There has been a tendency in church institutions for people to be seen as potential members and as statistics. Likewise their problems

and needs are perceived mechanically. Salvation, following the Anglo-American revivalist mentality, was viewed in terms of conversion. Problems for converted people have been seen as private issues, unless they involved deviant or destructive behavior in regards to the life of the fellowship.

Simmons, when he came, believed strongly that worldwide the Church was being called to renewal. "My sense of participation in the life of the church was to pray for and participate in renewal; the renewing of the church in terms of internal growth."[6] He believed that for the church to grow not just numerically but in quality of Christian life, the members needed to discuss together how they viewed the church and decide what goals they should have. The church-people were divided into small groups to meet over a period of several weeks and discuss the question, "What is the Church?" Simmons met with each group and introduced the issue.

Some found it a challenging topic, but others were baffled, if not directly irritated, that the question should even be raised. They believed they already knew what they were supposed to be doing and were anxious to resume business as usual. The possibility of changes was already threatening, especially as they did not know how the new pastor would conform to the norm.

Simmons' thesis was that as a church they should have their goals defined by biblical principles rather than be American evangelical culture.[7] His concern was certainly shaped by his adolescent and early adult experiences with fundamentalism.

> We needed a common definition that we had come to together... we would then be ready to set up objectives to move us towards

> that goal...if we had a part in defining the goal, we would be responsible to impliment the objectives.[8].

Each group was responsible for working through and presenting a joint statement to the larger congregational meeting. The task was then to arrive at one common statement. Though the statement is not in the records, there apparently was a desire to explore together the scriptural implications of fellowship, or koinonia, as the New Testament Greek used the word to describe the close, intimate life of the early church.[9].

In order to understand some of the forces which worked to alter the Community Covenant Church of Missoula, it is necessary to examine crucial distinctions which have been made between institutions and environments. Stephen Clark, an historian and Catholic lay pastoral leader, in the early 1970's observed that;

> ...environmental factors are more basic than institutional factors in Christian growth and therefore the primary pastoral concern should be in forming Christian environments rather than in reforming Christian institutions.[10].

He noted that a person's beliefs, attitudes, and behavior patterns are largely formed by environment. Therefore the Church must develop close-knit communities within the larger framework of society in order to develop Christian environment and nurture Christian life.

On the other hand, an institution, according to Clark, exists primarily to accomplish specific tasks. Relationships become essentially functional rather than intimate. In society a community does not exist simply to accomplish tasks, but to facilitate a way of living. However, lifestyle is facilitated by social organization, government, and administration. Thus, within communities there must exist institutions which serve the building of an environment.

The strongest and most effective human environments are family and community. The same principle follows in the building of Christian community. Likewise, institutions and even their goals must be secondary to the building of a Christian community-environment. "The primary thing which changes people...is the effect of environments, the free interaction of people which promotes or fails to promote Christianity."[11.]

A Christian environment can be defined as a stable, voluntary social interaction between human beings, where relationship takes precedence over tasks. The people are joined by their common perception of the person of Jesus Christ. This cannot be merely an intellectual assertion as to the historical reality of that person, or simply as assent to the New Testament claims about Christ. Vital Christian communities, throughout the history of the Church (primitive, Roman, medieval, modern) have placed a central value upon individual and corporate relationship with the risen Jesus. Their life individually and corporately is therefore defined and governed by ideals they perceive in the person of Christ.[12.]

The central teaching of Christology, throughout the centuries, has been basically that Jesus Christ is what is unique about Christianity, not just various moral or social values. "How alive a Christian community will be depends on how important Jesus Christ is to the members of that community."[13.] A Christian community can simply be defined as an environment of Christians which provides for the basic needs of its members in order for them to live the Christian life, as well as to be sustained in their natural, material existence. It is, "the smallest self-sustaining unit of Christian living."[14.]

Out of the people experiencing a vital relationship with God in Christ, and joining together to form community, its vitality is sustained by their investment of time, energy and resources in following and emulating Jesus. The building up of the life of the community must be seen as their life, not just a religious organization relegated to a peripheral compartment of their secular lives. Thus, the people who compose the community must continually, existentially be renewed in their interior, spiritual life. Conversion in the writings of the Fathers,[15] is not only once but daily. Prayer must lie at the heart of their common life.

Consequently, a Christian environment must be more than an environment composed of Christians. It is a contention of this study that the Community Covenant Church in Missoula illustrated in the 1960's that an environment can be dominated by social or institutional function, and that the sub-culture, though composed of Christians, might not be a biblically Christian one. As an example, a group of Christians may hold a deeper allegiance to their nation than to the Kingdom of God, or may even confuse the two. The experience of renewal at the Community Covenant Church was a process whereby the environment drastically changed and the yearning of the new people who became a majority was to build a Christian environment through community, shaped by the biblical word of both the Old and New Testaments. It also held true for them as well as their predecessors that the vitality of their environment was dependent upon continuous, or existential, renewal in their midst.

There is, within any cultural condition, a drive to seek out like-minded people, and to reject those who do not conform to the dominant values and goals. This was the prevailing condition of the Missoula

Covenant Church in 1967, and set the stage for confrontation in the subsequent years. There was, as well, the temptation after 1970 for the counter-culture participants in the church who prevailed with a different social and cultural viewpoint to only welcome those whose experiences had been similar. In the early seventies older people who expressed middle-class values complained that they felt unwelcome at the church. Simmons had learned of the dangers of subjective cultural dominance and was aware of some of his own conditioned presuppositions. His aim was that a church-community be defined by the more objective standard of the biblical word in history. He saw much of the Church, locally and universally, as having advanced little beyond the state of an exclusive club, whereas the gospel transcended culture and status.

He began in about March, 1967 to introduce the theme of church renewal--as opposed to church numerical growth techniques[16].--in the traditional Wednesday night bible study. He was concerned when he arrived as to the low level of participation in the existing church functions. Basically the corporate activities were: first, the mid-morning Sunday School for children and adults, followed by worship service, (the pattern was to conclude by about 11:00 so that one would then be free to do other things after having fulfilled the religious commitment). Second, there was a Sunday evening evangelistic service (where usually only about a dozen or less attended); and third, a mid-week study.

He presented to the Wednesday study several topics from which they could choose. The people decided to study the New Testament, "Acts of the Apostles." He said he did not emphasize any particular aspects at that time, though he stressed that they were not to limit the events

and characteristics of the Church to an isolated historical situation. This countered the dominant dispensational theology which had been emphasized by Kim.

He was soon confronted by one woman as to his interpretation of the Pentecost and post-pentecostal events,[17] particularly whether the phenomenon of tongues was for the modern Church. He did not want to make it an issue, but was forced to present his theological opinion, that the gift of an unknown language was intended, as were the other charisms[18] of the Holy Spirit, for the modern Church. He felt, upon reflection, that he was not only being tested on this issue, but also probed as to his tractability. Without trying to defend a position he asserted that the acts of God have not only application for the primitive Church but also for today.

Simmons was attempting to get the members to open up to a fresh view of the Church, and emphasized in preaching and teaching their need for developing a close fellowship and being open to God's Spirit to nurture deeper faith. But there were undercurrents of fear among some about "tongues" coming into their church. One incident in the early summer was potentially explosive. There were already some families in the church from a classic pentecostal background.[19] One woman asked to have her brother, a pentecostal layman, come and share his testimony of life in the Spirit. Simmons met with him and felt that, though he was overly enthusiastic, especially about healing, the story seemed authentic and uplifting. It was pleasantly received when shared in the Wednesday night meeting.

In the midst of the meeting the man's wife stood and proclaimed a message in "tongues." After she sat down Simmons prayed for a

vernacular interpretation of the proclamation.[20] Everyone waited for some time. When nothing came Simmons simply went on. Afterwards he asked them what had happened, and she said it wasn't intended for everyone. She was simply communicating "spiritually" with her husband, to which Simmons responded that such behavior was unbiblical and out of order.

Pastor Simmons had been teaching generally that summer about renewal being authentic when inspired and shaped by the Holy Spirit and that the Church needed the power given through the renewing of the Spirit. He felt there was really no response and that it was met more by indifference than strong opposition. The mid-summer incident, also, brought no direct response or questions.

But the church secretary, Dorothy Edwards (mother of Marlin) wrote to Superintendent Peterson about the incident. It would be unlikely that anyone saw the matter as instigated by Simmons, since the source had been from church members who had joined previous to his coming. But certainly Mrs. Edwards--already uneasy about the tongues phenomenon--felt that Simmons had allowed it and not discouraged it. In fact, when it happened he had prayed for an interpretaion, whereas in her dispensational theology he should have soundly chastised the woman for her actions.

Peterson conveyed to Simmons the complaint and the source and asked his response later that summer. He replied that though he did not want to make it an issue, and that, while the practice as used had no biblical precedent, he would defend the principle as biblically sound. The superintendent cautioned that it was not part of the Covenant tradition,

and Simmons reminded him that tradition should always be weighed in light of the biblical witness. There is no indication that this brought any friction between them.[21] Peterson retired that fall.

The issue of pentecostal tongues in the Missoula Covenant came to a head dramatically in August, 1967. In July Simmons received a letter from Dr. Kim stating that he would be in Missoula in August and wanted to know if he could come and sit on a "back pew" that Sunday. Simmons felt at the time that the request was a ploy, but accepted it and asked the board to arrange a potluck dinner for Kim's homecoming. He then wrote Kim and invited him to preach that Sunday.[22]

One woman who had affirmed Simmons' coming, believing the church needed renewal, came to him and asked what he would do if Kim came and spoke out against the renewal. He told her he couldn't imagine Kim doing that, especially since Kim was coming at the invitation of his successor.[23] Simmons stated that he later learned that Dorothy Edwards and possibly others had communicated to Kim what they feared was happening to the Missoula Covenant Church since Simmons had come.

According to Dan and Leola Simmons, the Sunday sermon Kim preached was a direct attack upon Simmons and a grandiose defense of Kim's previous work in Missoula. He spoke of himself as being the authentic preacher, who had laid the foundation no other man could lay. In contrast, he asked, how could they trust someone who is passing like a ship in the night, obviously indicating Simmons. Further, he reminded them that he had previously warned them about tongues-speaking. His manner was gracious and pleasant, while undercutting Simmons and the threat of pentecostalism and affirming himself as the true spiritual leader.

Simmons decided it was impossible to confront the issue and he

chose not to defend himself. For the Sunday evening service he was called to the hospital and missed Kim's teaching.[24] This incident, in the early years of his pastorate in Missoula, was isolated. It did not precipitate any further confrontation; however, it must have been an influence in the church.

Often the temptation in the mainline Christian denominations of the 1960's was to confine the pentecostal phenomenon to the strange tongues, or glossolalia.[25] More often official policy reflected common cultural prejudice, whereby the issue of tongues was inordinantly elevated to primary focus. Through much of the 1960's this false assumption was reflected in the deliberative reports of most denominations.[26] In contrast, the United States Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church affirmed the positive breadth of impact in people's lives resulting from the charismatic experience, observing: "theologically the movement has legitimate reasons for existence. It has a strong biblical basis."[27] In 1970 the 182nd United Presbyterian General Assembly took a similarly enlightened approach in issuing a proclamation of affirmation, especially as to the ecumenical richness which they concluded it precipitated; they followed with thoughtful parish guidelines to facilitate cooperation.[28]

The approach of the new pastor at the Covenant Church was to play down the phenomenon of glossolalia[29] and, in general, the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Instead, he emphasizes the work and operation of the Holy Spirit--his purpose in the Body of Christ--as the authentic source of renewal. Aside from the Wednesday night bible study there were few other places of exposure or confrontation.

However, in the summer the board discussed having a family camp where the church would gather before school started in the fall. Dan

Simmons suggested bringing in an outside speaker to help provide content for the adults and his suggestion was accepted. Dan's suggestion of Fred Neth, a Covenant pastor he had met at the annual conference of the Covenant denomination in June, was approved by a quarterly congregational meeting.

Neth was warmly received, especially since he was not only a Covenant pastor, but had had attended Dallas Seminary and had also taught at Fuller Seminary in California, a well-established evangelical educational institution. They were not prepared for his sharing of his personal pilgrimage in renewal, resulting in an experience of the baptism in the Spirit. This did not result in any specific factionalizing within the church, but there remained strong negative reactions to Neth's presentation.[30]

Corresponding to the church's conservative evangelical cultural posture, a poverty mentality had dominated the church at least from the time it had affiliated with the Mission Covenant. The church had received aid from the Congregationalists in its early years, but, as mentioned above, took pride in stopping the aid and accepting financial responsibility in 1911. They also had a considerable number of members at that time.[31] Through the second decade of the century the size of the congregation declined, placing an even greater financial burden on the remaining poor, working class members.

This condition reached a crisis during the height of the Depression. In 1931 the Missoula congregation began to receive financial aid. It was still receiving assistance when Simmons arrived. In fact, the church was able to raise the pastor's salary in 1967 only because the allotment was increased specifically to enable them to offer a professional commensurate

salary. Peterson had admonished the church board about the inadequacy of Kim's salary.[32]

Previous pastors and boards had been aware of this condition and had wanted to rectify it because the financial resources existed to eliminate outside funding. The congregation was fairly affluent by the 1960's and had a broad representation of professions among members. Several had lucrative vocations, especially in the building trades. Thus a poverty mentality existed regarding the church facility and its programs, though most members lived a comfortable private life. An institutional attitude dominated in this regard. The church was perceived by the members mainly as serving a religious social function and not as the environment which defined the whole of their lives.

The financial consequence was that the church was continually behind in bills, struggling to meet a small mortgage, and even had difficulty meeting the pastor's salary of $400 a month, plus benefits. The church raised money--especially the women's society, or Covenant Women--through special offerings, bake sales, or quilting parties, etc., in order to support missions abroad. But there are no records to show that the money given missions for any year equalled or surpassed the money received in aid. For example, in 1967 $700 was sent to the North Pacific Conference for mission work, but the church received back from the denomination through the Conference $800. Though the church sent a certain amount which was recorded by the denomination, they actually received more than they gave.[33]

When the Simmonses came they learned that while they were being told the church did not have enough money and that certain bills or possibly the pastor's salary would be less some months, the treasurer

was making double payments on the mortgage. While it was not underhanded, it was a poor order of priorities. There was no solid understanding of biblical, Christian tithing, and its differentiation from an offering. In tithing, ten percent goes immediately from one's income to the church to maintain its general operations, where offerings are amounts given beyond the tithe, usually for a specific purpose. Simmons found that this distinction was essentially unknown. Few of the people gave, or appeared willing to give, ten percent of their income to the church--let alone giving beyond that for specific offerings.[34]

There was a traditional approach toward meeting the material needs of the pastor and his family. In poor neighborhoods and congregations the members tried to supply the balance of the pastor's needs with personal gifts beyond the meager salary. As church denominations began to employ organizational tools after World War II they tried to raise the standard of living of ministers to a level comparable with other professionals. Not unlike many congregations, the Missoula church was slow to comply with the standards. Also, there was little enforcement other than a conference superintendent's moral suasion. They could threaten to eliminate the aid, but the Conference had, over the years, accepted the myth of economic deprivation as the state of the congregation.

Further, it was difficult for the pastor to admonish them or bring consistent teaching to bear on the issue. Before Simmons the longest term of any pastor in Missoula was between five and six years--the average was two--and there wasn't the time for a pastor to become established and secure enough in his position to nurture the congregation adequately. The tradition carried an unspoken manipulation of the

pastor. He was expected to be obligated to those who gave special gifts. The obligation usually meant conforming to the accepted practices of operating the church and yielding to the existing power structure.

The congregational system had bred into the established leadership a drive to maintain control over the direction of the church, mainly because the pastor was seen as a hired professional from outside of the local community. One woman, Mary Fogelberg,[35] who came with her husband in 1969 from St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Seattle, observed that the pastor was seen as a professional caretaker, or "hired servant." The pastor, thus, was to be solely subject to the prevailing leadership and do their bidding. If he did not, he should leave. She believed, from talking to those who had maintained control even before Simmons came, that they had forced previous pastors to leave when they did not maintain the servile condition.[36]

Both John and Mary Fogelberg observed a number of church-communities over the years and believed that conditions in the Missoula Covenant Church were representative of those in other churches undergoing renewal. They also observed personalities, especially where there was dissension in a church, which were similar to those they observed in Missoula.[37]

Mary expressed concern that Missoula exemplified another universal condition of dissension. "Wherever there is a strong negative reaction... to the leadership (pastoral) there were women" involved.[38] She and her husband observed, in the year-and-a-half they were in Missoula, several dominant women whom she described as "overbearing, and agressive" who controlled their husbands who were leaders in the church.

A central source of this aspect of conflict was the leadership of

Covenant Women in those years. Ethel Southern, who had been a member and leader within Covenant Women confirmed that observation. She said Covenant Women was a powerful force in the Missoula church by the mid-1960's. They would "try to run the church...tell the preacher what he should preach about...they tried to mold him."[39] The Pages also confirmed the power within the Covenant Women, and saw it as a strong source of rumor and gossip.[40] Another woman has contended that Covenant Women was the true operating base of power in the Missoula Covenant Church.[41] Because it became such a location for gossip and friction, late in the 1960's the organization was closed down, in 1970, as an activity of the church.[42]

The Fogelbergs observed an attitude within the traditional leadership of opposition to renewal--regardless of its shape--because it threatened their life style and the leadership status quo. "There are always people who are comfortable with the church where their individual needs are met. They have their security in the Lord, they have church activities to keep them busy." They are often materially secure and are satisfied. That security is threatened by change.[43]

Ethel Southern spoke of a very subtle attitude that operates in most churches. People at Covenant she thought became possessive of what they saw unconsciously as <u>their</u> church, "like this is <u>my</u> house." When particularly unkempt young people began to attend the church the threat to the existing order was clear. Speaking about the response toward the counter-culture people, Ethel observed, "it was their church and they didn't like that type of people (sic) to come in." She spoke of her own growth at that time, when she had to face basic assumptions, "We didn't think in any other terms at that time, and people still

don't. You find that in many churches; they want people of their own class." She also felt that the church was dying and would have died unless younger people came in and shaped its future.

The Fogelbergs went further in their analysis of the prevailing leadership. Mary thought it was hardest for them to accept change because in the late 1960's they did not initiate it. Their position was threatened because it appeared they were being circumvented, especially by a pastor they could not control. "Because they had grown to trust their own position of leadership, they then did not trust some idea that" came from other leaders than themselves. This, the Fogelberg's felt, was a subtle but treacherous attitude for leaders in the church.[45.]

In addition to this need by the older leadership to control the pastoral oversight of the church and their resistance to change, there was a possessive attitude toward the physical and material programs of the church. Mary recalled much squabbling about money and a possessiveness concerning the church building, which became quite ugly at the time of the departure of the dissidents. This possessiveness they thought was also a universal attitude within church congregations which have become comfortable with the status quo.[46.]

Simmons, in his reflection about those years, said that though a club mentality existed it had to be covert, because if it was direct it would be obviously opposed to Christian values.[47.] He recalled that one man who was reported to be a millionaire was interviewed for membership by the deacons when Simmons was unable to be present and subsequently joined the church. Simmons questioned the diaconate later and heard little about the candidate's faith, but mainly how pleased he was

that Community Covenant was a "nice conservative church." Simmons traveled with this man to an annual conference of the Covenant denomination in Chicago later, and discovered considerable prejudice toward lower class people and racism toward blacks. He expressed to Simmons how important it was for them to return to the security and stability of Missoula where they could live apart from the urban problems. This angered Simmons considerably. He believed this man viewed the church not as an expression of Christian faith but a social thread in his political worldview.[48]

This dominant power structure however, was not unified. There were factions dividing the people who controlled the church when Simmons came and competition between them was strong, especially concerning theology.[49] One thing Simmons' presence did was temporarily cause them to unify in opposition to him. That coalition was not sustained after they left the Community Covenant in 1970.

When Simmons learned of the aid the church was receiving from the Covenant Conference he told the deacons and trustees that he believed it was a sin for them to continue receiving it and not to provide their fair share of support. He felt he could not continue to serve in Missoula with a good conscience unless they stopped the aid. He said there was resistance from the church board[50] but it was finally brought before the congregation near the end of 1967 and his recommendation was approved.[51] The church received something over $12,000 from 1931 to 1968, the bulk of it in the later years.[52] Simmons, presenting the basic principle of tithing, also demanded that their financial responsibility to the denomination should be met before any other expense, including salary.

This action was only the beginning of Simmons' intervention in

the existing structure. He taught both in sermons and in bible study that structures and organization existed to serve people and free them to get tasks of service accomplished with a minimum of difficulty; but he also stressed that church structure should enable the people to get closer to God and to one another. He believed the structure was rigid because people feared change. Thus, he began to perceive that the people served the structure instead of it serving them. People's needs especially the need to be cared for, appeared secondary to the task of mission which was itself ineffectual.

During the first year of his ministry in Missoula Simmons had tried to get to know the people and how the church functioned. He began soon after arrival to emphasize the need for renewal of individual faith and that the Church, or Body of Christ, continually needed to be refreshed in relationship to God. He stressed that church members needed to explore the purpose of the Church from the New Testament perspective and to allow cultural presuppositions to be questioned. Of course, he saw the person of the Holy Spirit as the source of renewal and reflected this in his teaching consciously and unconsciously.

After pressing to have the church stop receiving financial aid during his second year, 1968, he also instigated the creation of a Board of Christian Education to oversee the direction and content of Sunday School for adults and children.[53] He encouraged new people to become involved with Sunday School and tried to get more people involved in Bible study and its leadership. He and two others, Jerry Davis and Ivan Johnson, prepared a questionnaire to be circulated among church members about what they wanted from the church structure and whether they wanted changes. This questionnaire and its results were lost, but Simmons

recalled that it provided several ironic insights. He remembered one two-part question which asked, in effect, "do you believe the Sunday night worship service to be necessary?" Most people responded affirmatively. But the second part asked if they intended to participate regularly, and most of the people who answered yes to the first part said they would not attend regularly.[54.]

In terms of the church structure, as defined by the constitution, there were two main boards. First was the diaconate, which was to aid the pastor in caring for the overall direction of the church spiritually. They were to work directly with the pastor and be his counsel on the work of the church. Second, the board of trustees, who were elected, like the deacons, by the congregation, oversaw the physical church facility and the utilization of its financial resources. There was traditionally very little involvement of these men other than the monthly--or sometimes quarterly--meetings. The board members often knew little, or apparently did not care to know much, about the day-to-day operations, financially and spiritually, of the church. It was often difficult to find men to participate on these boards.[55.] The third central board consisted of the deaconesses, or women servants, who assisted the men in oversight. Their responsibilities were limited and vague, though they were responsible for preparing Communion, handling church linen, planning pot luck dinners, etc. These boards were theoretically responsible to the overall church chairman, who was to be the most direct and regular contact with the pastor. He was expected to provide leadership in the absence of the pastor, as McChesney had done after Kim left.

Simmons began to modify the functions of the boards within a year after he came. He first called the trustees to more direct financial

responsibility, such as working more closely with the treasurer. He began to instruct them on financial stewardship, especially the importance of tithes and offerings, and the responsibility of the church to carry its share of responsibility to the denomination. He also wanted them to be aware of financial needs within the congregation.

Beginning in January, 1968, with the election of a new chairman of the deacons, Simmons likewise charged them with a major pastoral responsibility. The minutes record his definition of their task as one "to provide spiritual leadership." Their fundamental job was to strengthen their fellow Christians.[56] In this context, they agreed to divide the church membership list among the siz deacons. Each deacon was to begin exerting pastoral leadership and care for these members by first establishing a personal relationship with them. The deacons were also to utilize natural leadership abilities within their groups as a core group to assist them in caring. Though this was agreed upon by the deacons it appeared that the goal was not realized that first year.

Another innovation was a program devised by the deacons called "friendship evangelism" which was to produce personal evangelism by reaching out to visitors through greeters and then utilizing deacons and deaconesses to visit them. Both of these new movements took at least another year before finding any definite, visible expression. The attempt, as begun with the questionnaire, was to realign the church structure in order to meet people's need more effectively. The "friendship evangelism" tried to reach people more personally than had been attempted through the Sunday evening evangelistic services. Throughout this first year Simmons taught that church fellowship was to be as close

and committed as family. He also began to foster home group meetings called "Action Groups," where people could assemble, share their needs, and pray together. This was a means of realizing the feeling of biblical fellowship.

Other structural changes instituted included one which proved to be very threatening to those satisfied with the traditional order. The deacons recommended and the congregation approved an experimental change in the order of worship for the summer. The proposal was to move worship to 9 a.m., from 10:00 on Sundays, and to have Sunday school follow worship instead of preceding it. It was meant to foster more dialogue and interaction around the subject of the sermon. Jerry Davis, a professional counselor, trained specific people who would be small group conveners to listen to the sermon and help stimulate small group discussion in the adult Sunday school much like the conventicles of the pietists. After the small groups discussed the sermon they would then join together to report as a large group what had been discussed. While Sunday school attendance increased dramatically for the first time during a summer, the change so greatly threatened several people that they almost resigned from the church. The experiment, though a success in stimulating attendance and discussion, was not repeated in the following summer of 1969.

On another front the church began to enter into ecumenical dialogue, including non-evangelical traditions. Simmons was concerned about expanding the involvement of the Missoula Covenant Church with the other churches in Missoula. In part his concern for ecumenicity grew out of his widely diverse evangelical experience and his familiarity with mainline denominations, especially from his years with the Y. M. C. A.

His first year in Missoula he sat on the advisory board for the newly formed Missoula Y. M. C. A. and became vice-chairman. He took a unique position regarding the existence of two ministerial groups in the city. These had developed from a fundamental-evangelical faction leaving the Missoula Ministerial Association in the 1950's because of its so-called liberal theological orientation resulting in the formation of the Evangelical Ministerial Alliance. Simmons felt this reflected the sin of division within the Church and wanted to help foster reconciliation. He consequently joined both groups.

In the late 1960's Simmons began to involve the church in cooperative actions with Roman Catholics in the context of the emerging Catholic Charismatic phenomenon, begun in 1967. In 1972 he was invited to be the Protestant representative on the Helena Diocesan Council on Ecumenicity. In 1969 he became president of both the Missoula Ministerial Association and the Y. M. C. A. In 1969 he joined several other ministers in a weekly seminar on counseling at the invitation of Dr. Charles Katz of the University Mental Hygiene Clinic, which brought an intimate exchange of common problems and techniques in pastoral care for over a year.

Father Fred Reidy, S. J. of the St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church in Missoula later observed that Simmons was a person deeply concerned about people. His perspective, according to Reidy, was one of emphasizing the Christian resource of faith as the means of facing psychological problems. This perspective was affirmed in the counseling seminar by Katz. Yet Reidy thought Simmons a balanced individual who did not dogmatically push his religion, but was interested in learning principles of human psychology in order to listen better and work more effectively

with those he was counseling.[57]

Rev. Bill Kliber, Methodist pastor and director of the Wesley House, observed from his years of working with Simmons that his manner was warm and personable, and that he considered him "totally trustworthy." This was important, for it has been the writer's experience that it is difficult for pastors in a professional association to develop close, trusting relationships. Another aspect of Simmons' character Kliber commented upon was that he had a "reconciling manner"[58] in working with people generally and also with other pastors. This theme of reconciliation came to dominate much of Simmons' work in the local church, the Church in general, and the Missoula community soon after he arrived. This appears ironic in reflecting upon the depth of controversy which erupted in the Community Covenant Church during the last quarter of 1969.

Increasingly throughout 1968 the pastor stressed the importance of the Church being empowered by the Holy Spirit. He did not teach that the Holy Spirit was not with the Church, nor that it did not guide the Church. But he emphasized that, especially in the "Acts of the Apostles", the early Church distinguished between the presence of the Holy Spirit in conversion and an experience of the empowering of the Spirit in a Christian's life. Though distinct, these experiences could occur simultaneously.[59] Thus, he emphasized that if the Covenant was to be a renewed church and experience deep fellowship like the early Church the members needed to be animated and empowered with the Holy Spirit. This meant they had to open themselves in a new way to God working in their lives, even to the possibility of their life styles being changed. He was emphatic that if they were going to serve Christ and find the love by which they could care for others they had to have the power of the

Spirit. This teaching was being developed nationally through the multi-denominational character of the Charismatic Renewal.

During the summer of 1968 Simmons preached a series of sermons dealing with the parables of Jesus. One Sunday the text dealt with the difficulty of new wine satisfactorily being contained in old wineskins.[60] In recent weeks there had been a reaction within the congregation against changing the Sunday school-worship order. He felt compelled, in order to maintain his integrity, to apply the text to the local church and its reaction toward change. He emphasizes to the people their need to let God change them individually in their interior life, which would likely reform the structure of worship and ministries to provide better care for more people. This carried a warning that they must be willing to have their hearts changed by God or there would be little room for His Spirit to operate. This produced agitation and anger among some, including Betty Anderson who had been close to the Simmonses regarding renewal.[61]

Before the year ended Simmons began to have conflicting reactions within himself. He was frustrated because on the one hand he saw the congregation acting with unanimity to institute change, and on the other, reacting with anger soon after the changes were inaugurated. Most frustrating had been the conflict regarding the summer schedule. He also experienced frustration concerning the apparent slowness of real change. The pastoral responsibility of the diaconate did not materialize.

Simmons felt that only through the renewing of the Holy Spirit would the people be motivated to change, and he was compelled to continue to emphasize that source for change. There seemed to be a fine line between committed enthusiasm and a driving fanaticism, and some

people began to express concern that the pastor was approaching the latter. Frustration within the congregation was building also, because it appeared that all new projects as well as teaching and study seemed to emphasize the Holy Spirit. A non-Charismatic lay minister from Miles City, Louis Brock, was selected to be the Guest speaker at the fall family retreat. Yet in his dialogue he expressed a deep hunger for change in his life, and ended up stating, when the issue of tongues was brought up, that he did not care if he had to "babble like an idiot" if that were necessary for him to follow Christ.[62.] This added considerable tension, especially among the people who had opposed the change in the summer worship order.[63.]

Simmons could not see change occuring and was tempted to leave Missoula. Before his first year was finished he had offers for other work.[64.] There has been a pattern within the professional ministry which parallels the secular pattern for professional success. Success in the Church is often measured by advancement and growth of ecclesiastical prestige. It is common for pastors in any tradition to remain with a congregation until a new opportunity develops which would provide new experience, perhaps more responsibility, and the illusion of greater freedom. Of course, there is the lure of greater financial security and advancement. The result is that individual congregations in reality become stepping stones in the building of a career, though few professional clergy would admit this. The temptation to move was strong for Simmons because of his dream about what the Church should be like and how far it seemed to be from the biblical model of a loving environment where diverse people could be healed and reconciled.

His wife, Leola, sensed the tension among the congregation. She could identify with their struggle concerning the baptism of the Holy Spirit because of her adolescent struggle with the legalisms and authoritarianism of classic pentecostalism.[65] She did not see positive growth resulting from this emphasis and thought Dan should begin to address subjects other than the Church as family or the empowering of the Spirit. This produced tension between them.

Finally, early in 1969 Simmons felt that God wanted him to stop talking about the Holy Spirit. He began to believe his frustrations were getting in the way of caring properly for the congregation and became wary of riding them. Further, he did not feel free to accept any offers to leave Missoula. This accentuated his internal conflict, he was not free to leave, and it seemed unwise to continue to preach about renewal. The question which had faced him years before reoccurred: did he still trust God with his life? He has said that what kept him in Missoula was not great faith, but a very real fear of God and what might happen if he were to run again. He did not want to compromise his beliefs either, and felt trapped.

The dilemma brought Simmons to pray that if spiritual renewal were really possible, that it would happen among them. Internally, he relates hearing the question, "Are you willing to see the Evangelical Covenant Church of Missoula die if that is necessary for the Kingdom of God to be more fully born in Missoula?" He was stunned by this thought. In his dialogue with God he responded that surely, if the church were God's, He would not want it to die. However he knew internally that this question was addressed to his own willingness to

follow God regardless of the consequences, and whether he got any recognition for his faithfulness or not. In exasperation he thought of the possible humiliation of being perceived as a failure, instead of an obedient servant. As the question "are you willing" returned to his thoughts he knew finally that the only way to maintain integrity was to stay on and be willing to let the church die if that was necessary in God's design. At that point he perceived his own drive for self-justification expressed in a need for the institution of the local church to appear successful in religious terms.[66]

This struggle has universal implications for the institutional structure of the Church. Jim Wallis, a founder of the Sojourners magazine, has written about this issue in light of the media notoriety on evangelicalism in the 1970's:[67]

> The meaning of the present evangelical "revival," so far, is that evangelicals are accepting the culture on its own terms. After being neglected for so long, evangelicals are eager to prove that they can "make it" in this society. And they are making it on the terms that this society understands the best: success, fame, prosperity, social influence, and above all a thorough-going loyalty to the "American way of life"--fidelity to the American system of economics and politics.

Simmons perceived this drive was not only a part of his own needs but part of the machinery of the church institution, from the local congregation to the top levels of the denomination. Within a few months after he came to terms with this drive, a deep and spontaneous renewal began to emerge within the Community Covenant Church.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter VI

1. Kim noted that at one time "twenty-three souls were baptized." "Pastor's Report: 1964," Annual Reports, Cf. Register, pp. 124-127.

2. Peterson to Satterberg.

3. In answer to the question, "was there evangelism? the Zimmerman's answered: "There was emphasis on it; it just didn't seem to be happening" (JoAnne). "No program that I can remember" (Doug). The numbers of people - including visitors - in their memories, was about 30 to 50, when everyone was there." Zimmerman interview, p. 2.

4. Kim taught that only baptism by immersion was valid, which was a strong Dallas doctrinal position, though not uniquely theirs.

5. "Our actual membership placed at 53 members...In August and September of 1966 approximately 25 members moved away. Among the 53 current members is some dead wood. Some of these folks have never been to church during my time here." Letter of Dan Simmons to Ralph Hanson, Superintendent, North Pacific Conference, December 14, 1967, "Miscellaneous Correspondence" file, Community Covenant Church, Missoula, MT. This was reported in the context of ascertaining their proportionate share of denominational giving.

6. DS interview, April 3, p. 4.

7. The evangelical sub-culture has been quite willing in the Twentieth Century to adapt techniques for growth from business techniques, especially public relations formulas to "sell" Christ. As well, in mission fields evangelization has been dominated be a religious imperialism, where missions in Africa, etc. have been structured to grow in ways similar to European and American patterns. The temptation within denominations--and various evangelical traditions--has been to impose evangelization procedures upon local congregations. The effect has been to stifle spontaneous growth. Another key incentive for the control of evangelism is the fear--especially among doctrinal purists--of impure doctrine. Thus spontaneity and vitality has often been sacrificed in order to facilitate ordered and controllable growth. This drive proved to be intense in Missoula Covenant when Simmons began to change procedures.

A significant book in this century has been the little-known but prophetic statement on church growth, by the early Twentieth Century Anglican missionary, Roland Allen, The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church, (Eerdmans, 1962; first published in 1927). In it he discussed how the joy of European Christians hearing of massive revivals is restrained, even choked, by a fear for the doctrine.

"He is afraid that the doctrine may be misrepresented by the unguided zeal of native Christians to teach others what they have learned. I do not think he is afraid that his converts would wilfully and deliverately misrepresent it: I think he rather doubts their knowledge of it, and their ability to express it as he thinks it ought to be expressed. This fear compels him to say that we cannot possibly permit native Christians to express their spontaneous zeal in teaching others what they have learned, and in so saying he proclaims that we can generally restrain it, and do so. He proclaims also that, if we did not restrain it, spontaneous zeal would in fact spread the knowledge of the doctrine far and wide. He recognizes the presence and the power of such spontaneous zeal. He says that 'we do not allow,' 'we could not permit' it to have free course." p. 43.

This concern by Allen for secular and cultural domination of evangelization was first developed in an earlier book, written in 1912, Missionary Methods; St. Paul's or Ours? (Eerdmans, 1962 ed.)

8. DS interview, April 3, p. 4.

9. Koinonia means literally "to share in common." In discussing the New Testament usage, Friedrich Hanck has stated that beginning with Acts 2.42, "it is...an abstract and spiritual term for the fellowship... expressed in the life of the community." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Vol. 3, Gerhard Kittle and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. (Eerdmans, 1965; translated from the German), pp. 789, 808-809.

It is interesting that Ray Stedman has made this theme the core of his teaching and experiment in Palo Alto, though entirely from a non-Charismatic approach.

The New Testament expression of this after Pentecost was that, "They devoted themselves to the apostles' instruction and the communal life, to the breaking of bread and the prayers...Those who believed shared all things in common; they would sell their property and goods, dividing everything on the basis of each other's needs...With exultant and sincere hearts they took their meals in common, praising God and winning the approval of all the people." (Acts 2.42-47a) Turtullian once quipped, in the Second Century A.D., "everything is in common with us, except our wives." (Apol. XXXIX, II), quoted in Early Christian Writings: The Apostolic Fathers, Maxwell Staniforth, tr. (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968), p. 185.

10. Stephen B. Clark, Building Christian Communities: Strategy for Renewing the Church (Notre Dame, Inc.: Ave Maria Press, 1972), pp. 23-24. Cf. James W. Jones, The Spirit and the World (NY: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1975), pp. 43 ff.

11. Clark, p. 39.

12. Karl Morrison has related this to the dependence of community and church order and authority upon tradition. The tradition, which helped define the environment was, "the cohesive element of the Church, as a community." This "lay outside any systems of laws, offices, and the legitimacy of legal and administrative orders depended on their consonance with that external element." Indeed, the very nature of tradition was "to reflect, explain, and enable the adaptation of the community of believers to its environment." Morrison, pp. 357, 353. This tradition, however, needed an objectivity that transcended secular and religious culture. Gregory the Great, in his treatise on Pastoral Rule stressed that bishops were to be ranked by virtue not precedence. It must be the quality--and way--of their Christian life, remembering the source of their authority was Christ, and not administrative hierarchy. "His emphasis on the Petrine commission in the conventional Roman sense was qualified by the eastern understanding that the rock upon which the Church was built was not St. Peter, but Christ Himself." ibid., pp. 130-135.

13. Clark, p. 98. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, German Lutheran pastor and theologian who was a leader of the Confessing Church in Germany under the Nazis, wrote a highly significant work for the Church, born of his experience of koinonia in the underground seminary in Pomerania and the common life with twenty-five vicars at Finkenwalde. He wrote:

> "Christianity means community through Jesus Christ and in Jesus Christ. No Christian community is more or less than this. Whether it be a brief, single encounter or the daily fellowship of years, Christian community is only this. We belong to one another only through and in Jesus Christ.
>
> " What does this mean? First, that a Christian needs others because of Jesus Christ. It means, second, that a Christian comes to others only through Jesus Christ. It means, third, that in Jesus Christ we have been chosen from eternity, accepted, and united for eternity."

He further wrote: "Because Christian community is founded solely on Jesus Christ, it is a spiritual and not a psychic reality. In this it differs absolutely from all other communities." Life Together, John Doberstein, tr. (NY: Harper & Row, 1954), pp. 21, 31.

14. Clark, p. 70.

15. St. Paul wrote: "As it is written, 'for thy sake we are slain daily," (Romans 8. 36a) and "be continually renewed in the spirit of your mind, putting on the new man." (Ephesians 4. 23-24). The writer to the Hebrews stated: "As the Holy Spirit says, 'Today if you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation...in the wilderness." (Hebrews 3.7-8) Cf. Clement of Rome, "The First Epistle to the Corinthians, Apostolic Fathers, pp. 48-49 ff.

16. Church growth techniques became, late in the 1960's, crucial to the survival of American denominations, evangelical or not, from the

context of institutional competition with the secular demands upon contemporary Americans. This was embraced, in the 1970's, by the Covenant decnomination, especially the notion of ethnic and cultural homogeneity. Cf. "Church Growth Principles," cover story, Covenant Companion Vol. LXV/3 (February 1, 1976), pp. 6-9. This concept has been challenged by Radical Evangelicals and others, including the pastors of the Missoula Community Covenant.

Cf. Ron Sider, "Homogeneity & Church Growth," The Other Side, Jan., 1978, pp. 62-63, in which he discussed a meeting to evaluate church growth principles by thirty-five theologians and mission specialists at Fuller Seminary in 1977. The author of the church growth movement stated: "People like to become Christians without crossing racial, linguistic, or class barriers." He frankly stated churches grow more quickly when organized as "homogeneous" units, and thus a mistake to establish interracial, interclass congregations. Sider countered:

> "Surely the church must be a new society which visibly demonstrates that all social, class, and cultural barriers are transcended in Christ. If faithfulness to kingdom ethics and the New Testament picture of the unity of Christ's body allegedly hinders 'church growth,' then so be it."

17. The issue involved whether or not Simmons saw conversion and the Holy Spirit baptism as synonymous or not, as related in the Book of Acts.

18. "Charisms", for which is derived "charismatic" means unqualified gifts. These refer to the gifts of the Holy Spirit for the equipping of the Church to be the Body of Christ. See Romans 12. 3-8; I Corinthians, chapters 12-14; Ephesians 4. 1-16. For an excellent exegesis from a Charismatic viewpoint, see the German theologian, Arnold Bittlinger, in his two books, Gifts and Graces: a Commentary on I Corinthians 12-14, Herbert Kasser, tr. (Eerdmans, 1968) and Gifts and Ministries (Eerdmans, 1973).

19. The Pages, the Bretz', Betty Anderson, and this couple discussed here.

20. Glossolalia is intended, according to St. Paul, for individual, prayer communion with God, and should therefore be private. If it is uttered aloud, it should be as a word prophetically given to reveal the mind of God in a specific situation for the people gathered, and therefore must be interpreted or roughly translated (which is also given as a gift of the Holy Spirit). See I Corinthians 14. 1-33.

21. Peterson recalled that the church chairman wrote his office, before he retired, that trouble developed because of the introduction by the pastor, of a charismatic emphasis, especially an emphasis upon speaking in tongues. The chairman that year, Frank Bretz, had attended an Assembly of God church in Missoula for eleven years prior to attending the Covenant. The complaint stemmed not from this incident, but the conference in September, where the Covenant minister Fred Neth, shared about his Charismatic experience.

He stressed that prior to Simmons' ministry, the Missoula church had "a long history of little or no growth." He credited the phenomenal growth in the late 1960's to Simmons, and anticipated continued growth despite the unfortunate conflict in the church, at the end of the 1960's. Private letter from Carl Peterson, Desert Hot Springs, CA, February 2, 1978.

22. Letter from C. Daniel Kim, Minneapolis, MN, to Dan Simmons, August 4, 1967; cf. "News Release," announcing the preaching of Kim at the Missoula Covenant Church, Missoula, MT, August 10, 1967.

23. DS interview, April 3, 1978, p. 8. The woman Simmons recalled questioning him about Kim was Betty Anderson. Betty recalled that Kim had been opposed to speaking in tongues, and was sure that he likely spoke out against it. However, she could not explicitly confirm having gone to warn Simmons. Private conversation with Betty Anderson, Missoula, MT, May, 1978.

When Kim came he circulated photocopies of a report in Christianity Today, August 18, 1967--the current issue--in which Harold Lindsell stated that the seminary faculty at North Park no longer believed the Bible, as stated, to be reliable in facts or trustworthy in all points of theology or ethics, according to the committee report viz. the hiring of a faculty member to represent a conservative theological viewpoint. This, Kim claimed, confirmed the theological deterioration of the Covenant.

However, a reply by the President of the Covenant, Milton Engebretson, countered the report as communicated by Lindsell, stating the affirmation of belief in Scriptures by the church constitution, and that the committee reported that all views of students and faculty viz. scriptures are within a "common commitment to the Bible as the Word of God." Christianity Today, October 13, 1967, p. 24.

24. DS interview, April 3, 1978, pp. 8-9. Leola Simmons confirmed the events, especially recalling it because of the attendance of her parents, sister, and brother-in-law, Don Johnson, ibid.

25. Glossolalia is defined by Johannes Behm as, " a spiritually effective speaking not to men but to God," as a prayer form, praise, gift of song and thanksgiving. "Value is for the individual concerned rather than for the community as a whole." In light of footnote #20 above, he states: "To make it serviceable to the community," there must be interpretation. "Tongues are a legitimate sign of overwhelming power." Theological Dictionary, p. 722 ff.

26. See Chapter II, footnote #31.

27. Quebedeaux, Charismatics, p. 164.

28. Ibid., p. 165. He also notes that most denominations in the 1970's have come to conclude charismatics are not schismatics; most are rejecting the cultural baggage--and doctrinal clutter-- of

classic pentecostalism. p. 165.

29. Betty Anderson interview, Missoula, MT., February 20, 1978, p. 4. "Tongues wasn't stressed from the pulpit or anything like that." She contended that the issue behind the split was not tongues, because several of those who left, including herself, spoke in tongues. She saw the problem being mainly generational.

30. JoAnne Zimmerman remembered the conflict particularly among the women during the camp. "I remember being there, and hearing it, seeing everybody get really up tight. All the women in the kitchen were talking about it. I didn't understand...that anything he said was something to get angry about. But they were." Zimmerman interview, p. 4. Cf. Peterson, February 2, 1978.

31. Hogander and Blomberg.

32. Peterson to McChesney, October 5, 1966.

33. "Joint Diaconate-Trustee Board Meeting," Official Church Records & Board Reports: December 1962-October 1973 (hereafter cited, Records), Community Covenant Church of Missoula, MT, September 16, 1967. Cf. "Annual Reports," loc. cit., 1967, financial statement, Specifically the "Annual Reports", 1968, financial statement for Oct. 1966-Nov. 1967 noted that the Community Covenant Church of Missoula had an income of $843 from the North Pacific Conference with $70 from the United Covenant Action (and some other, unspecified $487 from "Missions"). However, disbursements totaled only: $210 to U. C. A. and the pension fund.

34. Joint Board Meeting, Simmons and Peterson, who was meeting with the board prior to his retirement, reported together extensive research and determined the local church had:

> "53 active members, 21 active non-members, with a total of 46 giving units (families). They stated that based on the national average income of $5,800 per year that our Budget should be $26,680. if each giving unit were contributing 10% of their income."

Cf. Simmons to Hanson, Dec. 14, 1967.

35. Mary Fogelberg, taped interview, Seattle, WA, February, 1978. John and Mary Fogelberg were intimately involved in the events which unfolded in 1969; see chap. VIII. They were described both by the Simmonses, Pages, Ethel Southern, and the Zimmermans as very able and significant people in those events.

36. Ibid., p. 2. "One girl in particular I remember boasting to us that her father had thrown more ministers out of their church than she could count."

37. This is born out with Dennis Bennett's experience of conflict at St. Mark's in Van Nuy's, CA. Cf. Bennett, Ch. 8, pp. 56-65. He

stressed the opposition was a minority who were, however, better mobilized to drive out the "tongue-speakers," p. 63. This "hired servant" perspective Mary Fogelberg described as unbiblical to her because the pastor was to be a shepherd who possessed the authority to direct the congregation or flock in the manner he believed would wisely aid their growth. In Missoula she and John found the opposite to be true: the established congregational leadership decided ultimately what would be best for growth.

38. Ibid., p. 1.

39. Southern interview, p. 1.

40. Phyllis charted the course of gossip, concluding that suspicions were fed by misinformation: "when a few of the ladies...especially would get together and start talking (about complaints)...it would spread...and these complaints would keep going." Page interview, p. 9. The Zimmermans said Simmons tried to track rumors down to sources and pin people down to specifics, but the opposition simply withdrew into hostility even further, angry at his confronting manner. Zimmerman interview, p. 7.

41. Private conversation with Leola Simmons, Missoula, MT, February, 1978.

42. Since 1970 women came into more responsible and mature positions of authority. The two boards of deacons and deaconesses have been combined into one board, and has had one woman as chairman of the combined board. They share responsibility equally, including the serving of the Eucharistic Supper. As well, women share pastoral responsibility and overall care with men of the smaller, pastoral units in the church called households (which serve to function as extended families, with the shepherds of the households discipled weekly by one of the pastors).

43. Fogelberg interview, p. 3.

44. Southern interview, p. 4.

45. Fogelberg interview, pp. 3-4.

46. Ibid.

47. One expression of the exclusive, clubhouse mentality is unconsciously exhibited in the church growth philosophy. Cf. "Church Growth Principles," Companion.

48. DS interview, April 3, p. 5. The individual was Ken Benson, who left the church in 1970.

49. The Bretzes and Edwards' were, in many ways, poles apart on theology, even on the concept of the Spirit baptism.

50. Doug Zimmerman has said he remembered "a lot of talk about dropping aid--controversy...just a lack of faith, I guess, that we wouldn't make it without aid." Zimmerman interview, p. 5. McChesney recalled butting heads with Benson when some trustees wanted to freeze Simmons' salary in 1969, presumably because they wouldn't be able to make ends meet, though it was a ruse in order to force Simmons to leave, he thought. Private conversation with H. L. McChesney, Missoula, MT, May, 1978.

51. Reported in DS to Ralph Hanson, Superintendent, December 14, 1967, "Miscellaneous Correspondence" file.

52. This was reported by Paul W. Anderson, Executive Secretary, Covenant Home Mission, Chicago, in a personal letter, April 4, 1978.

53. "Annual Meeting: Jan. 9, 1968," Records, the education board would oversee and advise the Sunday School Superintendent regarding the structure and curriculum for Sunday School.

That year--as Simmons concluded his first year--they raised his salary from $400/month to $600, the same time they stopped receiving aid. Here was a bold step of faith.

54. Private conversation with Dan Simmons, Missoula, MT., February, 1978.

55. Doug Zimmerman noted that "there was always a need for people to fill a spot--deacons, trustees, etc.--and if a new person was interested...you were almost automatically voted in." Zimmerman interview, p. 5.

56. The biblical pattern was that within each church the "apostle" was to appoint elders who would have the overall responsibility for pastoral care. Their assistants were to be deacons, who would handle the physical and financial needs, especially of the poor. There were no "elders" in the Covenant Church, except when it first began (see Appendix, church constitution); deacons were substituted to be a board of oversight for the pastor; deacons were substituted with "trustees." Simmons wanted to rectify that, and bring "deacons" into eldership responsibility. See Allen, Missionary Methods, pp. 101-107.

57. Private conversation with Fr. Fred Reidy, S. J., St. Francis Xavier Church, Missoula, MT, May 3, 1978. He recalled DS, in contrast to others, affirmed by Katz. To date no response received from Dr. Katz who retired from the University of Montana Health Service, April, 1978.

58. Private conversation with Rev. William Kliber, First United Methodist Church, Missoula, MT, May 3, 1978.

59. Cf. Acts 8.5-18, 10 and Acts 19.1-6.

60. The parable is Jesus'. He says, "people do not pour new wine into old wineskins. If they do, the skins burst, the wine spills out, and the skins are ruined. No, they pour new wine into new wineskins, and in that way both are preserved." Matthew 9.17. The application was

that renewal could not be contained and nurtured by the rigidity of the old structure. The congregation would have to change and adapt. Cf. Morrison, p. 357.

61. Betty Anderson said her aggitation with Simmons began when he seemed, in her perspective, to be pushing renewal too emphatically; private conversation.

62. DS interview, April 3, p. 9.

63. Cf. ibid., and Zimmerman interview, pp. 4-5.

64. Eg. letter from Rev. Roy Erickson, First Covenant Church, Seattle, WA., to DS, Dec. 14, 1967; Cf. DS to Roy Erickson, Jan. 4, 1968, in which DS states,"after prayer and careful thought, I continue to feel that Missoula is where I belong. I simply would not feel free to leave here." Also, DS to Allan Robertson, Executive, Greater Seattle, YMCA, Jan. 13, 1968, "Personal Correspondence" file.

65. Leola Simmons interview, pp. 1-2.

66. DS interview, April 3, pp. 10 ff.

67. Jim Wallis, "What Does it Mean to be Saved?" Sojourners (May, 1978), p. 12.

CHAPTER VII

PENTECOST IN MISSOULA: NEW WINE & OLD WINESKINS

> "The community of believers were of one heart and one mind. None of them ever claimed anything as his own; rather, everything was held in common. With power the apostles bore witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus, and great respect was paid to them all; nor was there anyone needy among them, for all who owned property or houses sold them and donated the proceeds. They laid them at the feet of the apostles to be distributed to everyone according to need."
>
> (Acts 4. 32-35)

> "If you go on biting and tearing one another to pieces, take care! You will end up in mutual destruction!"
>
> (Galatians 5.15)

In January, 1969, Jerry Fogelberg was moved by his employer to Missoula and was accompanied by his wife, Mary. They had been part of the Charismatic St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Seattle. Mary's father was an Episcopal priest. They wanted, however, a fellowship of people who had experienced the working of the Holy Spirit. They had been told about Simmons while at St. Luke's and, after visiting the Episcopal Church in Missoula, decided to try the Covenant, though the tradition was foreign to Mary. They found it a refreshing change and felt there was an openness toward confession of Christian faith and personal relationship with Jesus. Further, there was a strong emphasis upon studying the scriptures.

When they became acquainted with Dan Simmons they learned that there were very few people in the congregation who had experienced Holy Spirit baptism. They soon became acquainted with Betty Anderson--who had the experience before coming to Missoula--and another couple, John and Judy Hartzler. These few people, with Simmons' permission, began a

weekly prayer meeting in Mrs. Anderson's home. Soon it moved from house to house. Simmons attended periodically to provide oversight and also to be enriched personally by common prayer. He also published notice of the meeting in the church bulletin to encourage participation and inform members that it was an open meeting. The focus was to pray for renewal, but it was known as a pentecostal prayer meeting and confirmed the fears of many of the older members who were already suspicious.

The Fogelbergs were asked by Simmons to lead a Sunday morning college class where they discussed, among other things, the power of the Holy Spirit working in their lives to enrich their relationship with Christ and animate them to serve him more fully. This was not, however, something new to the college students. The year before H. L. McChesney had led the class, and though critical of pentecostalism, he explored with them the working of the Holy Spirit. He said it "opened my eyes to new vistas," never before considered. He then saw a correlation between "the indwelling and outreaching" which resulted from opening oneself to an encounter with the Spirit.[1] McChesney observed that he did not have this pentecostal experience himself until a few years after the controversy peaked and the dissidents left. But because of the friendship and pastoral care he received from Simmons, as well as the experience in the college class, and the good results produced in the fellowship, he strongly supported Simmons' work and the movement for renewal.

Mary Fogelberg noted that the response through that spring in the class was cool but polite toward what they shared. However, when the students returned in the fall, many had experienced the Holy Spirit

baptism in the summer and those who had not were more eager to hear about it. Throughout 1969, the adults who became most resistant to the renewal were--with few exceptions like Ethel Southern and the Pages--the people who felt they had a long-standing investment in the state of the church. Those resistant included many who had not been members very long, but liked those conservative values of the church most clearly articulated during Kim's pastorate. In contrast, the majority of young people who came to a Christian conversion and experience of the Holy Spirit in the ensuing months had few commitments and previous investment in, or even knowledge of, the church.

Gradually the center for participation in the renewal became the prayer meeting initiated by the Fogelbergs. By the summer of 1969 the size of the group had expanded considerably, and included people from as far as Stevensville. Most of those in attendance had already or were soon to experience the baptism of the Holy Spirit. It became common knowledge that these people practiced glossolalia.

Simmons gave weekly leadership, and then had the prayer meeting moved to the basement of the church in the middle of the summer. The suggestion to hold it in the church was a decision which received alot of prayer and reflection because of the sensitivity of the charismatic issue. The Fogelbergs said they learned much about how the Holy Spirit can work effectively through mature leadership. Dan Simmons prayed for direction on various subjects and sought guidance through the group. His approach was described as gentle, and often his authority was put forth in a suggestive rather than a dogmatic manner.[2.]

Most important was the intimacy which developed among the participants in the prayer fellowship. "Dan was helping us to learn how to

worship God in the prayer meetings, and helping us to love one another with the love the Lord would have us express." There was a building of solid trust among the people. Mary said that Simmons nurtured the development of a "loving community of people through whom the Lord could work." More people--especially from the outside of the church--were drawn to the love they saw emanating from this community; they were attracted to seek God.[3] The outreach to others, initiated by the prayer members, was spontaneous and personal. Many older members however, felt the prayer group was exclusive. Members of the prayer group were reluctant to talk about their experiences to other members of the church.[4] Most likely this was not because of an exclusive attitude; they did have a willingness to reach out to others. Rather, at this time, the participants were being cautious because of the tensions which were building and did not want to precipitate conflict. Their caution, however, seemed to feed distrust.

Structural changes continued in 1969. In order to foster closer fellowship the congregation had been divided by the diaconate, late in 1968, into small groups which would meet periodically in the members homes. These were called "Home Action Groups" and were to engage in Bible study and prayer, as well as to provide opportunity for people to share their lives more freely. In the spring of 1969 a more formal structure was provided when a systematic bible study was begun in these groups. The study groups were called "koinonia" fellowships. It is interesting to note that though these structures corresponded remarkably to the early conventicles or ecclesiolae, they were only formed to meet a need and were not consciously patterned after these earlier models. Also that year the deacons attempted to realize their commitment to give direct pastoral care to church members. It was decided at

the February meeting to fulfill this responsibility through the "Action Groups." Thus, deacons asserted this role through the group in which they participated. The pastor, Simmons, also assumed this responsibility in his home group, and also provided overall guidance for the deacons in their struggle to give pastoral care.

That summer Simmons asked the deacons to submit names of speakers for the fall retreat. Three were suggested, including Dennis Bennett. The deacons contacted two before Bennett but both were unable to come. Bennett accepted, and further agreed to come in November for a renewal conference sponsored jointly by several Missoula Churches, as well as to come in September. This was unanimously approved by the deacons, though Marlin Edwards, as chairman, did not vote.

Simmons was president of the Missoula Ministerial Association that fall, and for the retreat was offered the use of Legendary Lodge on Salmon Lake owned by the Roman Catholic Helena diocese. Fr. Bennett came with his new wife, Rita,[5.] and the weekend was a very positive time. A foundation of receptivity had been prepared through the Saturday night prayer group, and church participation was good. Several older members were prayed for and experienced the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Other members were refreshed and began to be renewed. Frank Bretz - who had, with his wife attended the Assembly of God Church in Missoula for years before coming to Covenant - reportedly[6.] experienced renewal in his faith. The sensitivity of the Bennetts and the pleasant environment helped allay tension.

After the weekend a men's fellowship began on Saturday mornings for prayer and reflection with Simmons, Frank Bretz attended and Simmons remarked that he was fresh and excited about what was happening. Yet

before many weeks had passed he became cool and suspicious toward the movement and no longer attended. Simmons observed that many times he saw people enter into spiritual renewal, or respond to a fresh call upon their lives by Christ, but then at some point stop and withdraw into old patterns.[7.] Fear of change, or risks to their social standing have been some of the reasons why people have not continued in renewal. Renewal often represents unknown risks and the implications for loss of control in a person's life become overwhelming. On the other side, many of those who were involved later became fanatical or obsessed with spirituality and reclusive. In the fall of 1969 and winter of 1970 renewal gathered momentum on many different levels in Missoula, largely through the instigation of the Community Covenant Church. Certain events started a snowball of personal evangelism and spiritual renewal, which by its spontaniety became difficult to contain and direct. It also crystallized the suspicion and hostility which had been growing in the Covenant Church to the point where the conflicts broke into the open.

The key to the depth and expanse of renewal, as well as to the outbreak of conflict, was the influx of young people of high school and college age. The Covenant Church had little previous involvement with youth. The central youth ministry was the North Pacific Conference summer camps program. Montana and Idaho were able to support their own camp, Birch Creek, near Livingston, Montana, but it relied upon widespread attendance of children from the Covenant churches in other parts of the state.

John Page and Marlin Edwards were intensely involved in the operation of the camp for several years. At the summer camps children from Missoula had, according to them, strong spiritual experiences where they

came into Christian commitments of their own. John related, however, that it was not continued when they returned to their home towns. There was not an integral follow-up in the home churches. Thus, some teenagers came to Page and Edwards and asked to have a weekly youth prayer meeting. This began on Saturday nights about two years before Kim left. Both men observed a deepening of faith in the youth, and cited instances of conversions among friends brought by Covenanters;[8] however, the number was negligible.

The time was spent in reading scriptures and open sharing of concerns and problems. One aspect John recalled was that many of the youth began to pray for the conversion of their parents. One girl, Pam Schlegel, prayed for her father for over three years and early in 1970 saw him come into a Christian commitment. He and his wife became an integral part of the church leadership in the early 1970's. The youth group also prayed for renewal in the church, and several became active in the subsequent renewal through the Holy Spirit. Though this group, somewhat like the adult prayer group, learned how to pray together and interact, it was not the catalyst for the intensity of renewal which began late in 1969.

The first major development in broadening the renewal was the preparation for Dennis Bennett's speaking engagement in November of 1969. In September, during the retreat held at Legendary Lodge, Simmons had developed a rapport with Fr. Hunthausen, the Roman Catholic bishop. Later that month Simmons approached the bishop about ecumenical renewal and proposed that Bennett not only speak at the Covenant Church but also that he might speak in other churches, especially some of the Catholic churches. Hunthausen expressed approval of the suggestion, and asked

Simmons to contact Fr. Frank Matule at St. Anthony's in Missoula. Good communication was established there, and Matule agreed to have St. Anthony's participate in the conference.

When Bennett came in November he spoke at the Episcopal Church, First Assembly of God, preached in the Covenant Sunday morning and in St. Anthony's and the Salvation Army building. Several hundred people[9] in Missoula from various Christian traditions participated in these meetings; many of them experienced Holy Spirit baptism, and many of these were young people.

During this time the widespread "Jesus Revolution" began, mainly among the counter-culture youth in California. This emerging youth movement produced great spontaneity of interaction among participants. Street evangelism in San Francisco and Los Angeles began to compete with various political and religious movements.[10] Fundamentalist Christianity complimented by the pentecostal revival, experienced massive conversions among the counter-culture youth in style and numbers unique to Twentieth Century Christianity. It outdistanced--largely because of the social mobility of the times--the revivals of the late Nineteenth Century, but corresponded to the revivals in the early national period, associated with men like Charles Finney and the "Great Awakening" of the 1740's. Many of the young converts traveled the highways to share their experience of Christ.

One young man who came to play an important role in the youth revival in Missoula through Covenant Church was Tim Smith. Tim had been a heavy drug user in California since the middle 1960's, and became addicted to barbituates the year prior to coming to Missoula. He experienced

a conversion to Jesus Christ through an encounter with counter-culture Christians while hitchiking early in 1969. While travelling to Missoula he had been told to contact some people at the First Assembly of God. He was still having trouble breaking the drug habit, and was drawn to Missoula partly because it had a reputation on the road as a center of counter-culture activity.

Tim went to the First Assembly when he arrived late one day and was met by Pastor Carl Perry's son, and invited to go to St. Anthony's and hear an Episcopal priest talk about the pentecostal experience. He went and prayed that night to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit. He did, and found a deeper commitment to Christ which also released him from his involvement in drugs. He also met Dan Simmons, who befriended him.

Another young man, whose life was to become intimately involved with Smith's, also attended that night. Andy Elsen came from a fundamental-evangelical tradition which he had resisted, and had recently been discharged from the Army. While in VietNam he had a deep spiritual experience of Christ.[11.] Andy came to Missoula to attend the University. He prayed for the baptism in the Spirit that November, 1969, at St. Anthony's with Dean Conklin, an associate pastor at First Assembly of God. Within a week or so he met Tim Smith who lived near the First Assembly with a chicano youth named Domingo Hernandez.

Domingo had been a gang leader in Billings, who had been diagnosed as an incorrigle delinquent by psycholgists.[12.] Because of various crime involvements he was given a choice between the Deer Lodge penitentiary and vocational rehabilitation. He chose the latter which was a beauty school in Butte. There he had a Christian conversion through a girl who attended the school. He also experienced the baptism in

the Holy Spirit.

He came to Missoula for work and attended the Assembly of God, but met resistance because of his background and perhaps his race. He was befriended in Missoula by John Seibold, an older man, who eventually introduced him to Simmons. Dan began to nurture him and drew him into the fellowship at the Community Covenant, especially the Saturday night prayer meetings.

After Simmons met Tim Smith at St. Anthony's during the November conference, he referred him to Domingo for a place to live. They soon became roommates. When Elsen came to visit Smith and Hernandez, the three began to talk and pray together, duscussing much about the future of the renewal. These young men were eager to experience the fullness of the Holy Spirit and see the gifts of the Spirit utilized. Elsen has remarked that it was there he first heard of prophecy being given as a spiritual gift for the modern Church. This conflicted with his fundamentalist upbringing. Interestingly, Domingo prophecied that God was calling the three of them for a particular work in the near future.[13.]

Concern for the emergence of drug traffic in the Missoula public schools surfaced in the fall of 1969, and a series of seminars for high school students was prepared for December. Community resources--social workers, police, psychologists, physicians, pharmacologists--were utilized to cover the various phases of the drug problem and its consequences. Simmons was contacted to be a source on community services for handling drug problems. Most likely he was contacted because he was president of the Y. M. C. A. at the time.

Simmons, in turn, contacted Smith, for his counter-culture experience with drugs; he also asked Hernandez for his expertise in drug

problems among ethnic street gangs, and Elsen, for his contact with drugs among servicemen in VietNam. Though Domingo could not attend, the others related their experience with drugs and the problems they saw, after Simmons introduced them. They also related how they came to their Christian commitment. At the close of the assembly, after a time of fielding questions, Simmons announced that the young men would be available at a house on Stephens Avenue every Thursday to talk. He spontaneously suggested that the location could be called "Shalom House."[14] This was seen as a fulfillment of the prophecy the men had received only a few weeks before.

These events were soon followed by an inter-denominational crusade with David Wilkerson, the second week of December. This man had gained notoriety as a country pentecostal preacher who had gone to the streets of New York City in the early 1960's and had gotten members of street gangs to stop their fighting and drug use through fundamental Christianity.[15] He had started a national movement of ministry for teenagers called "Teen Challenge."[16]

The question of moral decay seemed very real to many Christians in Missoula in the late 1960's. Pornography, through magazines and films, appeared to be increasing in Missoula. This, coupled with the emergence in the community of the youth counter-culture and the drug traffic brought both ministerial associations to cooperate and bring Wilkerson to Missoula as a resource for help based upon his organization's success. Simmons was selected as the joint coordinator for the conference. He was also an advisor to Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship at the University and was able to get their support in the effort, along with the support of the Y. M. C. A.

Another ingredient which coincided with the Wilkerson conference was the Covenant sponsorship of a Christian rock group from Seattle called the "New Men", who had been recommended by Dennis Bennett and the Fogelbergs. At that time such a Christian rock music seemed inherently contradictory to conservative evangelicalism, but was approved upon Simmons' advice that it would help speak to the youth at their level.

The conference with Wilkerson brought a considerable number of junior and senior high school youth, along with their parents; it was complimented by Christian emphasis of the "New Men's" contemporary music. Large numbers of youth made Christian commitments those nights and also prayed for the enpowering of the Holy Spirit, emphasized by both Wilkerson and the musicians. There was, therefore, much conversation in the high schools about experiencing Jesus Christ, and much excitement about Christianity being relevant to counter-culture youth. Thus, when the young men, introduced by Simmons at the high school seminar, spoke later in December about their distinctive experiences of Jesus Christ, yet framed by their common involvement with drugs, it produced an electric response among the youth.

Throughout the winter and spring of 1970 "Shalom House" was besieged with high school and college-age youth. During that time the House gained a reputation in the community for success in ridding people of drug addiction or participation. Notable for Andy Elsen were visits from personnel of the newly-formed Crisis Center, and the mayor, Richard Shoup.[17] As the numbers of visitors increased Dan Simmons, John Page and a new deacon, Keith Nickerson, from Covenant assisted in talking to the people. Other Missoula pastors came to help with

counseling. The young men involved in the work needed the contact with pastoral oversight to keep them balanced in their relating of Christianity. This was provided primarily by Simmons.

Andy Elsen said that part of the attraction they presented to the youth was the counter-culture, "hippie" image. It was also attractive to students who had rejected the Church and Christianity because the style of Shalom House was informal and the language was "non-church."[18] But what perhaps was remarkable at the time was the apolitical environment which developed. Very straight people with middle-class, conservative values were able to share with and care for counter-culture people, many of whom held strong, anti-establishment views. Elsen said, "we came together because Jesus was among us and that was the only important thing...rednecks and longhairs embraced each other and loved each other because of what Jesus had done. That was the most amazing... demonstration of God's presence."[19]

The attendance of young people at the Community Covenant doubled, tripled, and then doubled again through the winter. Many of these people who had left high school, had not consistent work, and seemed devoid of direction in life. Most startling to the older members of the church was the appearance of these people. The length of hair, the untidiness of their clothes, as well as their freedom of association with one another shocked established Covenanters.[20] These new Christians, in their joy, would easily embrace one another; even the men embraced. This was deeply unsettling to people like Marlin Edwards. It represented for many a looseness of morals, as well as temptation toward sexual promiscuity. In their moral code contact between sexes was to be minimal. The physical

embrace of men aroused cultural fears of homosexuality, which could only be checked by controlled masculine behavior. This assortment of conscious and unconscious fears - projected upon the close association of the Saturday night, "Charismatic" prayer meeting and intensified by the non-conforming youth whom Simmons welcomed - was further stimulated by the appearance of the "New Men" at the Covenant Church in December. The sensual music, unChristian to many, was accented by their emphasis upon life-changing effects of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Marlin Edwards has commented that, in his perception," these New Men were using, I thought, such unorthdox ways of getting kids to commit themselves to their way." He felt there was too much emphasis upon the emotional experience and not enough grounding in what to him was proper bible teaching.[21.]

One place where Marlin expressed his concern, as well as his opposition to the emotionalism of the charismatic experience, was in his class for teen-age youth. This produced confusion among the youth, because they heard one emphasis in biblical teaching from Simmons, and another from Marlin, the church chairman. Arguments erupted within the class, and some students reported to Simmons that Marlin was telling them he did not agree with Dan's teachings on the Holy Spirit.[22.] Finally,Simmons curtailed Edwards' teaching. Edwards felt the situation was out of control, that the renewal was divisive, especially within familites, and that he could not control the youth because they would challenge his teaching. The youth "didn't have the confidence in me that they had had before...so obviously I badly reacted to that."[23.] This set the stage for conflict between the church chairman and the pastor.

Harold McChesney recalled that in his perception, the church

structure, until Simmons had been there a few years, stifled the youth. "We never had any free music...it was always like the fundamental church pattern." The youth were in "pretty tight groups;" outreach to the youth in language they could understand was very limited. As McChesney's children grew older he had not required them to attend church because of the narrow appeal to youth. He said when the "New Men" came it excited him because he saw the program as relevant youth outreach. He believed many people were incensed because the music was sensual and appealed to emotion. To him the evangelization by the music group polarized opposition.[24] Ethel Southern confirmed the observation of McChesney. The appearance of the young people attending the "New Men" concert, she thought, upset people.[25]

The contrast was striking. Young people flocked to Saturday evening prayer and praise; they eagerly attended a Sunday night study (on spiritual renewal) beginning in January, 1970. Even more, they desired to attend services for prayer every night and would often gather spontaneously for prayer or stay at the Simmons' home talking about Christ far into the night. The Simmons' older girls related how they would rise in the morning and place bets as to how many sleeping bags they would have to step over to get to the bathroom.[26] But very few older people, particularly long-time members, would attend the Sunday or weekly services, and only those interested in renewal attended the Saturday night prayer meeting. It was a replay of a familiar pattern. Most of those older in the faith were comfortable with it and resisted change. This had been Ethel Southern's observation about the condition of older believers in the Church when she first moved to Missoula in the early 1940's.[27] But the situation was dramatically different by 1969. Where earlier new

converts were in a minority, the 1970's began with converts and new applicants for membership swelling to a majority, and there was no indication of the conversions lessening during the early months of 1970.[28]

Concern about this trend toward large-scale, unconventional conversions began to be expressed in concerted reaction during the first month after the retreat with Dennis Bennett at Legendary Lodge in September, 1969. Several lay leaders in the church, including Marlin Edwards, church chairman, met privately without inviting Simmons. Keith Nickerson refused to attend a meeting that was not announced to Simmons. McChesney was not invited.[29] John Page went to help sort out the concerns. The focus was upon the unorthodox changes which many felt were getting out of control and the source of the trouble was perceived to be Dan Simmons.

The concerns that were voiced were general and unsubstantiated. Sometime after that meeting, a delegation was sent to Simmons with a list of some of the concerns and some recommendations. Criticism included concern that Simmons sometimes wore turtleneck shirts, instead of straight shirt-and-tie; that the family kept lights on far too late at night (which they complained was paid for by the church); that Simmons spent too much time counseling "derelicts" outside the congregation. He was presented with the impossible request that he maintain and submit monthly to the deacons a record of how he spent the twenty-four hours of each day. Simmons said he would consider it, but he never did follow the request.

Dan Simmons has said that he was specifically committed to work with the existing power structure in the church. He had supported the

election in 1969 of Marlin Edwards as church chairman and tried to meet with him weekly. This was an attempt by him to build communication with the faction that was forming, which included Marlin's parents, Lonnie and Dorothy Edwards, Marlin and his wife, Fairy, Viola and Frank Bretz - people who were critical of the developments and had been in positions of power for several years. That commitment had existed from the beginning of Simmons' pastorate in Missoula. "If those people were by-passed, renewal would happen but those people would stand off and it would be divisive."[30.]

A central goal of Simmons' was to build unity, but not at the expense of what he believed was the authentic calling of the gospel for the church. Such a unity, that compromised integrity to some cultural imperative, would be a façade and would not last.[31.] When events brought a proliferation of people who were exuberant in their new-found faith, efforts to restrain the renewal would have been destructive for them. He believed that anything short of stopping this movement would not have satisfied many people. Marlin, he said, pointedly told him that things had gone too far,[32.] and he asked Simmons to stop. The only way the pastor saw of stopping such a movement would have been to lock up the church and leave his home. For him--and others--there was no turning back to former days.

Marlin and his parents, the Bretzes and a few others became committed to stopping the movement. According to Doug Zimmerman, their strategy was to prepare a list of amendments to the constitution's by-laws which would restrain Simmons' activities. This necessitated delaying the reception of new church members until after the new by-laws were

passed by a majority of older, more conservative members. The justification was that the younger members needed the leadership of the older members who were more fully grounded in Christ and Bible teaching. They also thought that Simmons was mainly bringing in new members who would side with him and not contradict him.[33] Marlin offered to teach these new people because they needed sound teaching. He felt Dan was too busy with his Charismatic and ecumenical activities to properly teach them; besides, he believed he had better preparation than anybody, including Simmons, to teach by virtue of his four years at Prairie Bible Institute.[34] Simmons declined the offer because Marlin was so outspoken in his opposition to Dan's teaching on the Holy Spirit.

Traditionally, in the fall, before the winter annual church business meeting, a class was held to acquaint prospective members with the Covenant tradition and to hear the extent of their Christian commitment and doctrinal understanding. The deacons were supposed to hear and approve the candidates. Then, a special congregational meeting would be held a few weeks prior to the annual meeting where the new members would be voted upon, so that they would have time to acquaint themselves with the church business to be considered at the annual meeting. The opposition, with Marlin's cooperation, planned to move and table the reception of the new members until the annual meeting, after the regular business (including constitutional issues and election of church officers) was concluded. When McChesney objected at that meeting, Simmons recalled later that Marlin stated: "If these people are voted into membership it will top the balance of power, and a good many of them speak in tongues!"[35] He then invoked Roberts Rules of Order which said that there

could be no discussion on a motion to table. The motion was quickly approved by the old guard which still held a majority. Shock and dismay were felt by the prospective members and others who thought this action was highly insensitive to potential members, many of whom were new Christians.

The annual meeting followed in a few weeks and McChesney argued that postponing the vote on new members until after the business was concluded violated the church's constitutional order aince it constituted old business. Opposition was stopped and new members were received. The old guard's amendments to the by-laws never came to the floor.[36] The intensity of conflict simmered throughout the meeting, but was undercut by the inability of the dissidents to prevent acceptance of new members until after business was concluded. The intensity of opposition to Simmons did surface when Dave Williams, chairman of the Board of Christian Education and author of the previous motion to postpone inclusion of new members, vocalized his opposition to what was happening in the church. He moved that a vote of "no confidence" be taken on the pastor; however, after some heated discussion he withdrew the motion.[37]

Dan and Leola Simmons have described that meeting as the "closest thing to hell" they had experienced.[38] What made it tragic was that the atmosphere contrasted with the spirit of the numerous young converts eager to live the Christian life because of the love and peace they had found in Christ. Simmons was torn because, on the one hand he believed that the heart of the gospel was reconciliation between people, not just individual salvation experiences, and he stressed in church bulletins and from the pulpit the need for all people concerned to get beyond their differences and judgements. On the other hand, he also had to uphold

the biblical principles which he felt would best serve the congregation, particularly the need for renewal. A forum for reconciliation was attempted through a week of prayer each night preceding the annual meeting, where the central Christian symbol of union, communion, was provided. Dan particularly invited the dissidents, but only Betty Anderson came. Betty, though involved from the beginning in the renewal and an instigator of the Saturday night prayer meetings, had become critical of the renewal, especially in terms of what she viewed as the preferential treatment of the youth over the older members. Yet she and her husband, Layton, yearned for the reconciliation to occur. She never focused blame for the conflict upon Simmons.[39.]

The meetings each night were packed with young people. Each night after the service they would ask if there would be a meeting the following night. They asked again the night before the annual meeting and Simmons told them there would be a church business meeting instead. They wanted to come, but he discouraged them. Instead, he suggested they meet in the parsonage and hold their own prayer meeting. He asked them to pray for the congregational meeting.

Once again Simmons faced internal conflict. He was aware of a combative side to his personality. He prayed that he would not defend himself in the meeting and believed he would be able to accomplish that. During the month or so prior to the annual meeting he and Leola experienced a great deal of hurt. Rumors and gossip had become quite difficult to handle. Leola and Betty Anderson were good friends and this strained their relationship. Secret meetings continued, as did loose talk. Dan was frustrated with his inability to reach an understanding with Marlin. In prayer he was introspective, asking if he had caused the rift, or

was the source of division rather than fostering authentic renewal. He found he was unable to sort out the pieces, and prayed for God to show him the way out. He felt shattered by the conflict and unable to do anything about it. But over a period of several days he believed God put him back together and that something deep inside was healed. He felt external confirmation came to him about the authenticity of the renewal from various people outside the church in the Missoula community. He then believed the conflict originated in the threat of change to the established church members.[40.]

The zeal of the youth was a source of conflict. The youth tended to be intemperate and impetuous; their eagerness bordered on fanaticism. However, much of it was a naiveté about church decorum. Betty Anderson attended a Covenant Women's meeting in the basement one night and a group of young people were singing loudly in the sanctuary. From her perspective it was inconsiderate of the older church members. It also made many women feel that the youth believed the experience of anyone who was older than they was invalid.[41.]

Another factor which infuriated older church members was that many of the young people had no hesitation telling their elders they needed the release of the Holy Spirit and that they needed to "get right with God." This brashness of the youth, during a time of high visibility of youth and dissidence nationally, confirmed their deepest suspicions about these young people, who had been raised far too leniently for the older people's values. One incident Betty recalled that was intolerable to the older members occurred when a teenager openly countered and confronted Marlin about his teachings about the Holy Spirit. To them the issue was that of youth talking back to their elders.[42.]

Many of the young people, who had been involved in the counter-culture lifestyle, were struggling deeply in their new faith with their own rebellion against adult authority.[43] The tragedy is that many of the older Christians were not prepared for the youth coming to the church. Members of the old guard had not been prepared in their Christian life to be vulnerable, and had great difficulty in knowing how to use their authority. Intolerance bred a drive to control the renewal. Their years of Christian experience did not prepare them for the level of patience they would need when revival came. Ethel Southern's observation[44] that these older church members saw the church as their church was largely true; they wanted revival on their terms and not in the manner in which God gave it. They wanted the converts to be like them.

Considering the thrust of youth activity and the move of the burgeoning "Jesus Revolution,"[45] it was remarkable that the young people were willing for any length of time to accept Pastor Simmons' leadership. The tendency during those years was for young people to form their own, house-churches, under their own leadership. This was aggravated because, as James Wolfe, student of the Jesus-people in California has observed, most local churches in the Bay Area were suspicious of the counter-culture and responded "with suppressed and sometimes open hostility."[46] Throughout the country the counter-cultural advocacy of alternative lifestyles was deeply threatening to a traditional middle-class way of life.[47]

It should be made clear that the resistance of several families at the Community Covenant Church was minor compared to the suspicion of evangelical Christians in the wider Missoula area. John Page, Jr.,

who was a high school student in 1970, was told by people at the First Assembly of God that they were willing to work with him, his father, and a few other men, but did not trust the rest of their "hippie church."[48] Simmons was also suspect to more classic pentecostals, possibly because he had come from that tradition and had abandoned it. Simmons found more genuine warmth at that time emanating from leaders in more liberal, mainline Protestant churches; also there was a special relationship developing with the Missoula Catholic Community. Indeed, this ecumenical fraternizing was an important aspect of the friction which developed within the Covenant church.

The annual meeting was a crucial turning point for the future of the church. The disenchanted members were not only in the minority; leadership on all boards was coming to be dominated by Charismatics or their sympathizers. McChesney, who had been church chairman at the time of the change from Kim to Simmons, became actively assertive when he saw at congregational meetings the tactics of the dissidents and argued that they were to be a church caring for people, not a civil legislative body. He then used procedures, such as discussed above, to counter their offensive. Consequently, he was elected the new church chairman.

The dissidents, though dispirited, set in motion one final move to stop Simmons. They wanted him to leave and he believed that that was for the congregation to decide.[49] Edwards had contact with other Montana-Idaho Covenant churches, mainly through his involvement in the Birch Creek Camp, and discovered a concern mainly in the Helena, Butte and Idaho Falls churches. The fall Covenant youth rally was scheduled

for Missoula to coincide with the December Wilkerson Crusade. Thus, Covenant young people from the other churches heard the "New Men." The music and appeal was disturning to some adult leaders, especially the Helena pastor, Roy Berquist.[50.]

Complaint was registered with Superintendent Ralph Hanson in Seattle by various people from Missoula, Helena and other churches in the North Pacific concerned about what was happening both at Midway Covenant in Seattle under Fred Neth, and the Missoula church. Church people were threatened by the pentecostal influence developing within the Conference.[51.] Hanson came to Missoula twice in 1970 - once to meet with Simmons and the combined boards and once to meet with Dan and the Helena pastor - before a third decisive meeting when he came to Missoula with Earl VanDerVeer, Secretary of the Ministry and Paul Anderson, Secretary of Home Missions, both from Chicago headquarters.

During the first trip in May, 1970, Hanson met with the deacons, trustees, deaconesses, Christian Education Board, and elected officials, and said that he had received correspondence from church members expressing their concern about the church's direction. He gave, however, no specific direction to the boards except to urge unity. During this trip he went to dinner privately with the Simmonses and according to both Dan and Leola, mentioned that <u>charismata</u> were not part of the Covenant tradition.[52.] In contrast, Hanson has stated that he only relayed the concern raised by others that this was not part of the Covenant tradition.[53.]

The Simmonses recalled him stating that if Missoula continued to have controversial speakers Dan's ministerial license might not be renewed. Simmons asked if Fred Neth, an ordained Covenant minister, was an example of such speakers. Hanson said yes, and Dennis Bennett was

another. Simmons replied that he did not initiate Bennett's first visit; it had been suggested by a deacon and the congregation unanimously approved the selection.[54] He also stated that Bennett was their third choice and was recommended after the other two declined. The Simmonses both recalled Hanson responding that since Dan was the pastor he was responsible for overall direction of the church and it was his responsibility to see such speakers did not come. This was awkward, Simmons replied, because both the New Men and Bennett were scheduled to return that month. He could not be intimidated either by the threat to his credentials or the reaction of some officials to his encouragement of neo-pentecostalism. He believed the movement was theologically sound and an essential contribution to church vitality. He further told Hanson that he was willing to submit his case theologically before any denominational officials, but never received a formal reply.[55]

Hanson, however, has responded that he was concerned about church unity and discouraged Simmons from actions which would aggrevate friction. There was some concern, at least at the Conference level, that there might be a church split. He mentioned the possibility of the loss of credentials only as a possibility and not as a threat.[56]

Leola Simmons said she asked Hanson why, when the church stopped receiving financial aid two years before, they got abundant praise, but that now, when the church was mushrooming with new converts, they heard no approval from officials. Hanson, she said, replied very positively about the number of converts and new members, and stated he assumed they knew the denomination was pleased.[57]

Hanson arranged the second meeting between the Helena pastor and Simmons. Dan recalled Pastor Berquist as being quite hostile and

theologically closed-minded.[58] The meeting proved fruitless. Simmons was already aggravated because the other churches had decided to continue with Marlin Edwards' leadership for Birch Creek Bible Camp, despite Simmons' objections.

The final meeting of the church boards and a few selected visitors along with the three denominational officials was held on June 23, 1970. It is puzzling that the official minutes do not list any of the principal male dissenters, including Marlin Edwards, but do list three principle female dissenters. The purpose was to air grievances about the charismatic gifts, and the serious level of factionalism. Some individuals charged Simmons with not fulfilling his responsibilities as pastor to the whole congregation. They also asked if the denomination would take action to remove Simmons. The reply was that it would have to be a congregational action.[59] With that the dissidents saw no hope for their cause.

Some had already left the church since the annual meeting and returned for the special session. The dissidents left by the middle of the summer; Marlin Edwards and his family were reportedly the last family to withdraw from fellowship. It should be noted again that the dissidents were only loosly allied and their reasons for leaving differed. Marlin Edwards left mainly because he felt his leadership had been rejected; he saw his differences with Simmons as irreconcilable. The Bretzes left according to Viola, because of the "hippie" element in the church which she felt would be a bad influence on her children.[60] She, however, had been a powerful force among the women, especially in Covenant Women. The Bensons probably left because it was no longer a "nice conservative church."[61] Marlin's parent left before the final meeting

presumably because of the pentecostal influence.

Other families left because of the pressures and the agony of the conflict. The Andersons left, according to Betty, in order to assist the dissenting faction in reorganizing as the independent Missoula Bible Fellowship. Betty, in many ways, was an anomaly. She and her husband were torn between the two groups but decided to go with the older group because they felt out of place with the dominant younger members. She said, however, that for years after they left she and several other women gathered weekly to pray, including prayers for the Covenant Church to continue its growth.[62] The Fogelbergs moved to Seattle when John was transferred in June, 1970, just after the meeting with the denominational officials. They returned to the St. Luke's Episcopal fellowship.

None of the dissidents interviewed years later expressed bitterness toward Simmons and the church, except for Ester Olson who had grown up in the church and was in her seventies at the time of the conflict. Yet the conflict and break in friendships deeply affected all those who were involved. The Simmonses, especially Leola, suffered considerable anguish from the division, and probably most from the gossip. Simmons, with several deacons, tried to track down rumors to the sources, but to no avail. Several families, the Nickersons, Pages, Zimmermans, and especially the Simmonses tried to reach out personally to those who left and to seek reconciliation. The depth of conflict rendered such attempts futile.

On July 7, 1970, Hanson, VanDer Veer and Anderson, the denominational officials, reported their recommendations in a letter to the church. The tone was throughout a de-emphasizing of differences, a call to reconciliation, while supporting the pastor, Simmons, and upholding the

validity of charismatic gifts, including tongues. No mention, however, was made as to the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. They did strongly endorse the renewal which was occurring in Missoula through "the focal point of which appears to be the Covenant Church."[63] Perhaps cynically, H. L. McChesney reflected that the official affirmation of the dominant Charismatic direction of the Missoula church was precisely because of the numerous converts.[64] But it is true that if there had not been the significant number of conversions and rapid rise in membership the committee's judgement would probably have been much more critical. Simmons' credentials would then have been subject to reconsideration by the ministerium.

In setting up the June meeting, the dissenters - purported to be the financial center of the church - had written Hanson that if he did not do something about Simmons they would leave and withdraw their financial support. Ethel Southern reported that several members before they left believed they could break Simmons if they withdrew their financial commitments. Their reasoning was, she said, that when the church went broke Simmons would have to leave; they would then return and pick up the pieces.[65] This strategy failed because the church was able to maintain its commitments. It was, however, an extremely difficult time for a church whose members were mostly low-income youth.

After the dissidents left, the remaining members did not know what would happen. Before the July report there was considerable unrest. Many thought that it would be best to withdraw from the Covenant denomination and form an independent church. For Simmons this was never an option because he felt they were accountable by God to the Covenant and because of the earlier lesson about independent churches that he had

learned. If he lost his licensure he would not take the congregation with him out of the denomination and form a separate group. The only other way he would leave was if the congregation voted no-confidence. At the quarterly congregational meeting in November he offered his resignation if that was the will of the church.[66] But no formal action was taken. However, he did receive a unanimous vote of confidence along with an affirmation of his overall pastoral authority during the January, 1971 annual meeting.[67] The sense of the congregation was that the consequences of the direction they felt to be God's call were nonetheless unavoidable. The conflict, while painful, united and matured them into a close fellowship.

Certain denominational representatives met to study the Charismatic issue in the early fall of 1970; probably they were prompted by the situation in the North Pacific Conference. Three major committees --the Pastoral Relations Commission, the Superintendents' Council, and representatives from the Board of Ministerial Standing--met with the seminary faculty at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, September 23 and issued a declaration similar to the Presbyterian's and Roman Catholic's. In it they authenticated the renewal of the Holy Spirit in churches throughout America and in their denomination, and gave theological guidelines for the evaluation of renewal. They also cautioned churches about the exaltation of Charismatic gifts, emphasizing love as the true measure of church renewal.[68] The affirmation was both warm and authoritative.

We have examined the painful and perhaps clumsy transformation of a Christian congregation, which after these events charted a course for

building a strong, alternative community: an alternative to prevailing fundamentalist, liberal, and neo-evangelical church models, as well as the prevailing secular and non-Christian ones. The 1970's, however, proved to be equally difficult, and the new core group found different issues raised almost daily. People needed jobs and training to even know how to work, so church members set out to help establish business enterprises. Different kinds of people, divorced single parents, for example, as well as broken youth, came to the church for help.

Throughout the early years of the seventies many of the members and visiting non-members struggled with pastoral authority as it was presented at the Missoula Covenant Church. Over a score of the Charismatics, both youth and adults, who had prevailed in the controversy we have studied, found they did not want to go the route the majority came to choose at various times in the seventies.[69] Many who had come from a counter-culture experience simply refashioned fundamentalism and classic pentecostalism, and chose to go it alone,[70] or just refused to follow the calling of the pastors, which by then comprised several men, and either helped start other church groups or found an existing church more to their liking.

The Community Covenant Church in Missoula grew until it had a core membership of approximately 150 committed people, not all of whom were official members. Regular visitors and fringe participants increased this to at least 200. At the height of Kim's pastorate, which brought the greatest number before the Charismatic Renewal, membership was calculated to be about seventy-five, with up to 100 including regular visitors. But there was just over fifty members when Simmons arrived in 1967.[71]

The direction of the Missoula Covenant Church in the seventies came

to reflect a hermeneutic of the Church as a close, intimate family which must confront oppressive and unjust systems inside and outside the Church.[72] The church community became involved in numerous projects to care for the poor, the sick, the aged, and the handicapped. Tongues speaking ceased to be a dominant issue. The emphasis came to be placed upon using the spiritual gifts to enrich the life of the Christian Body, rather than exalting the individual's importance.

Missoula came to exhibit features which emerged among renewed church communities of the 1970's. Carl Lundquist, after studying 1500 renewal centers, mostly in North America, has listed several common features: 1) community unity through "personal allegiance to Jesus Christ;" 2) extensive devotional use of the scriptures (books, tapes, music, psalmody, liturgy); 3) adoption of a "rule of life;" 4) commitment to simple life style, emphasizing frugality and "non-exploitative" practices; 5) caring involvement with "hurting people" both within and outisde of the fellowship; 6) joyous celebration through the arts and Christian symbols, emphasizing biblical motifs.[73] Each of these aspects emerged in the Missoula church as an outgrowth of the renewal.

Beginning with Simmons and continuing with others who came into pastoral ministry, the leadership challenged the fundamentalist-evangelical emphasis upon a verbal but abstract salvation,[74] which had been the dominant theological feature at the Covenant before the renewal. The focus at the church became a concern for the whole of persons--individually and corporately, economically and materially--and their relationship to the larger existence of the Church.[75]

FOOTNOTES

Chapter VII

1. McChesney interview, p. 3.

2. Fogelberg interview, p. 2, 4.

3. Ibid., p. 3.

4. JoAnne Zimmerman remembered that, before she experienced the Baptism in the Holy Spirit through Bennett at Salmon Lake, she had become curious about some people, especially women, who had received the experience and noticed how they had changed. "But they seemed so secretive about it; they were having prayer meetings but I didn't know when they were." They were, however, published in the Sunday bulletin occasionally. "I did go to a Bible study at Marlys Peterson's, and I knew that she had received the filling. I asked her, 'what do you do, what was it like? Did you speak in tongues?' She wouldn't talk about it...she had told Dan that I was interested." Zimmerman interview, p. 3.

5. Bennett described how, a few years after his first wife's death, he met and married Rita. Bennett, ch. 18, pp. 146-155. Together they wrote a teaching book on the charismatic dimension, The Holy Spirit and You (Logos, 1971). She wrote a book for women, I'm Glad you Asked That (Logos 1974).

6. Zimmerman interview, p. 6. They felt Frank was dominated by Viola, his wife, which caused him to draw back. Simmons noticed a remarkable change in Frank after the retreat, but said he withdrew within a month afterward. Private conversation, with DS, Missoula, MT, March, 1978.

7. Ibid.

8. Edwards interview, p. 3. John Page noted that Kim never interfered, not even to make suggestions. Page interview, p. 8.

9. Dan Simmons noted that approximately 750 attended the Sunday meeting at St. Anthony's, with many being "born again," and many others experienced a renewal in their Christian life. "Pastor's Report: 1969," of the Annual Report, Records (January 8, 1970).

10. In April, 1969, was formed the Christian World Liberation Front in Berkeley, CA. Made up largely of former street people and hippies who had found Christ. It intended to offer a Christian alternative for counter-culture people, and moved in much the same way as the Catholic Worker Movement in the 1930's, as an antidote for materialistic Marxism. (See William Miller, A Harsh & Dreadful Love: Dorothy Day & the Catholic Worker Movement, (NY: Liveright Press, 1973) It developed from a militant, counter-culture fundamentalist street group into a socially conscious alternative community, basically reflecting the Radical Evangelicalism of the 1970's. Its street paper was called

Right On, cryptically enough, which became in the middle 1970's, Radix; CWLF merged into the Berkeley Christian Coalition. Another street newspaper which was Christian was The Oracle (copyright 1969, San Francisco), which had been the first underground newspaper, in 1966, San Francisco, then folded, and reemerged as a Christian operation.

Donald Heinz has an essay on CWLF, in The New Religious Consciousness, Charles Glock and Robert Bellah, eds. (Berkeley, L. A.: University of California Press, 1976). Cf. Roszak.

11. Andrew Elsen, taped interview, Missoula, MT, February 15, 1978. It is ironic that Elsen, who had struggled with his fundamentalist background had been raised in the Moody Church, in Chicago, and grew up when it was struggling to survive financially and through conflict over legalisms. Private conversation with Elsen, Missoula, May, 1978.

12. The information on Smith and Hernandez has been compiled through information from Elsen, interview, and DS, private conversation, May, 1978, as well as private conversations over several years with Hernandez.

13. "Prophecy was something that was a completely new experience. I had never been exposed to that...The ongoing presence of the spiritual gifts was new to me..." Elsen, interview, p. 1.

14. Shalom House, after it closed in June, 1970, was grafted onto a new work which began Summer 1970, by Keith Nickerson, called "Shalom." It was located on South Higgins, where it lasted as an interdenominational coffee house ministry to reach youth and transients until Fall, 1972. Then it was taken over by some counter-culture people and became the Butterfly Building. Cf. ibid., pp. 4-5; "The Jesus Movement," Peggy Berta, Montana Kaimin, col. 73/61 (2.26.71) pp. 7-10.

15. David Wilkerson's story is The Cross and the Switchblade, with John & Elizabeth Sherrill (NY: Bernard Geis Associate Gospel Publishing House, 1963). See also Harrell, pp. 186-187 ff.

16. Wilkerson, The Story of Teen Challenge (Brooklyn, NY: Teen Challenge, n. d.). Cf. Gasper.

17. Elsen interview, p. 2-3.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Doug Zimmerman has said he thought it was the whole life-style of youth who came: "they were long-haired, bare-footed with ragged clothes. In church, all the guys had ties, and they were formal...a lot of the older people just couldn't handle this. They couldn't accept them." Zimmerman interview, p. 5.

21. Edwards interview, p. 3. Phyllis Page confirmed that the catalyst for the erupting of conflict was the appearance of the New Men, Page interview, p. 8, as did McChesney, interview, p. 4.

22. Two men who had been involved in the young people's group in 1969-1970 confirmed both that Edwards had spoken directly against DS teaching on the Holy Spirit, seeing it presented as a doctrinal matter, where Edwards saw the baptism in the Holy Spirit synonymous with conversion, but underneath a personal threat to Edwards. Personal conversation with John Page, Jr., Missoula, MT, May 6, 1978; personal conversation with Gary Jones, converted at the Sentinel H. S. New Men concert; Missoula, MT, June 5, 1978.

23. Edwards interview, p. 5.

24. McChesney interview, pp. 3, 4.

25. Southern interview, p. 4. Christian rock music has been a powerful force in evangelization since the late 1960's; in the 1970's the quality of music and musicians produced a radical innovation in white gospel, certainly influenced by black gospel.

26. Personal conversation with Deirdre and Micahle Simmons, Missoula, MT, February, 1978.

27. Southern interview, p. 1.

28. It should be noted that converts entering the church at that time were not exclusively adolescents. However, the adults were young, usually in their twenties.

29. McChesney said, "I think anybody who tries to be peachy-kid-aces with the pastor is immediately suspect." The inference was past tense, not a universal present. McChesney interview.

30. DS interview, April 3, 1978, p. 12. DS states he taped confrontation, but not located to date.

31. Ibid., p. 13. "My own conviction was not to precipitate a crisis, but I couldn't desert the congregation. I had to stand for justice. I would not leave just to alleviate tension. I felt I had to stand fast with the biblical issues to serve the congregation, and even those who stood against." Mary Fogelberg observed that Dan spoke to the prayer group when opposition surfaced early in 1970, "about having to chose, would we follow the Lord and obey Him even if some kind of division or split occurred in the body, or would we cower before the spectre of a split." Fogelberg interview, p. 4.

32. DS interview, April 3, 1978, p. 13.

33. Edwards stated, in light of their failure to restrict DS at the annual meeting, that "that was the reason we were unable to get a vote,

because he (DS) had brought in some of these new people...and naturally they would be strictly for Dan." Edwards interview, p. 4.

34. This was in the context of why he and DS had conflict: "I think I had as much or more background being able to ground people than anybody in the church--four times as much as Dan did---this is one reason probably why we had...conflict." Ibid., p. 4.

35. DS interview, April 3, p. 13. Edwards recalled asking Simmons to back off. When he would not, "the next step would be to ask him to leave, which he didn't want to do. But in the meantime, he had brought in younger people who became members of the church, who were then able to vote and swing the thing the way he (DS) wanted. This is what I remember." Edwards interview, p. 4.

36. "Annual Congregational Meeting, 1.8.70," Records. Doug Zimmerman said there was a strict set of by-laws to be introduced, but they never materialized. Zimmerman interview, p. 6.

37. Ibid.

38. DS interview, April 3, p. 13.

39. She had a vision, afterwards, of two microscopic cells dividing, and she believed that this was reassurance from God that life and growth--as well as God's purpose--would come forth from the conflict. Betty Anderson interview, p. 5.

40. DS interview, April 3, p. 13 ff.

41. Betty Anderson interview, p. 4.

42. Private conversation with Betty Anderson, loc. cit. Both Gary Jones and John Page, Jr., who works with Edwards, confirmed the confrontation. John said Marlin was strongly resistant to change, and especially fearful of trusting others deeply, especially if they did things differently than he. He saw the faction that left as mostly unable to be vulnerable, and quite private. They were resistant to accountability to others, especially different than they. John Page, Jr., private conversation.

Jones saw Edwards as highly competitive individual, where "performance was related to worth." If one's understanding of truth was challenged he saw it as a personal affront. He said Edwards openly challenged DS' teaching, but did not directly undercut his pastoral authority, just his doctrinal authority (which implicitly affected the former). He admitted challenging Edwards, along with Page's sister, Elaine Page Bergstrom, in class. Interestingly, he believed his confrontation was out of order, flaunting Edwards' authority. He believed it helped create friction and conflict. He saw doctrinal prejudice on both sides, but the central issue of the split, for him, was generational prejudice. He felt the youth, by their insistance upon the experience

of the Holy Spirit, were making the Spirit-baptism a prerequisite for active fellowship, and were, in a sense, driving their elders out. But their life-style must have had as much to do with the gap as anything. Jones, after several years in Missoula, went into the Army, returned to Missoula, then on to music studies at the University of Washington. He is presently, June, 1978, director of music for St. Luke's Episcopal Church, in Seattle. Private conversation, Gary Jones, loc. cit.

43. Morrison, p. 355, states something quite relevant to not only the issue of the young, but the immediate experience of the new charismatics vis-a-vis the older members. He says, "tradition as a definable concept had (in the medieval Church) little place in the works of mystics, for whom it ran counter to the immediate and instantaneous communion between believer and his God." Thus, one of the central issues facing a traditional congregation infused by "charismata" is the adaptation viz. church authority and mutual submission. A strength and source for the vitality of the Catholic Charismatic movement has been the respect of authority instilled in members.

Because of the ecumenicity and continued growth of the Community Covenant Church in Missoula in the 1970's, David Van Dyke, a member of the United Presbyterian Church Div. of Evangelism, interviewed DS and several members, Feb. 2, 1972, as part of the division's study of the various charismatic movements in the U. S., particularly among the youth. This was taped and the transcript submitted in preparation of a UPC task report in 1972. See letter from David Van Dyke, the ARK, Missoula, MT, to DS, Jan. 26, 1972, with "Taped Interviews at Community Covenant Church."

44. Southern interview, p. 4.

45. For an introduction, see Erling Jorstad, That New-Time Religion (Minneapolis: Augsburg, Publishing House, 1972). James Jones, pp. 23-24 ff., discusses the infiltration of pentecostal movement into most major denominations by the 1950's, but underground. The 1960's helped surface the interest, and produced a reawakening in a new dimension of pentecostalism. Simultaneous with this reawakened interest in the Holy Spirit, "America developed a thirst after community." The communal activity of youth in the late 1960's forced the Church to consider the nature of community and its relationship to Christian faith--" a theme not much discussed in the Christian dogmatics of the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries." As a Charismatic, he stresses that St. Paul's theology viewed community as a major work of the Holy Spirit, and this is born out particularly in the first half of Ephesians 4.

46. Wolfe, "Three Congregations," in Glock and Bellah, pp. 227-244.

47. By temperament evangelicals are conservative in heritage, unsure of change. At the Missoula Covenant Church, the core group was suspicious of those who questioned their values. Hard work, certainly a biblical virtue, became for many the measure of their faith. Thus, the dissheveled youth of the 1960's ran against the grain of establishment faith. They were unclean, long-haired, not interested in

working in the way church leadership traditionally valued, and they were generally critical--especially in the media presentation--of the older, hard-working generation. These youth were further critical of the American government, and were the antithesis of a patriotic American Christian in their reluctance to defend American interests in war. Even more, their sins were alien; the "sins" of smoking, drinking, attending movies, seemed benign by comparison. Their music seemed dissonant, and what was most terrifying to the older Christian's experience was drug usage accompanied by an easy familiarity between sexes.

Elsen, interview, pp. 1-2, has said that though Missoula was behind what was developing in, say, California, it became a center of activism and drug penetration certainly earlier than the rest of Montana and more than most small cities in the Northwest, U. S. Drug usage seemed to coincide, in people's minds, with the arrival of the VietNam War protest which began to surface in Missoula as early as 1967. (See Montana Kaimin, Special Edition, Vol. 70/80 (April 6, 1968), and protest over King's death.)"By 1969 there was a whole groundswell of activism and unrest on the University campus, and penetration of drug use in the high school." To Christians trying to build an ordered, secure world for themselves and their children, it must have seemed the barbarian was at the gate. Even worse, the children whose lives these adults were trying to protect were inside trying to open that gate.

These youth also vehemently rejected established Christianity. Many of these same people who later converted to Christianity retained much of their sub-cultural identity. The "hippie" communal lifestyle threatened the life of the nuclear unit, and even more so when it confronted the core group in Christian terms.

48. John Page, Jr., private conversation, loc. cit.

49. Some years before the controversy DS had seen a movie in which a pastor compromised his integrity and resigned under pressure because he had invited blacks into the church. He hoped he would never succumb to such injustice, and leave the parish members affected without protection. Though he never imagined it in the form it would take, the same issue, he felt, was at stake. DS interview, April 3, p. 13.

50. Ibid., p. 14.

51. Simmons said Neth never had to face the threat of loss of credentials, mainly because of his ordination and reputation. DS, private conversation, Missoula, MT, April 1978. Hanson confirmed that the other congregation under fire was Midway, Private letter from Ralph P. Hanson, Dept. of General Mission, ECCA, Chicago, April 25, 1978.

52. DS interview, April 3, p. 14. Cf. Carl Peterson stated he also emphasized the same thing to DS in 1967, and that he "would not look with favor should this practice be introduced." Private letter from Carl Peterson.

53. Hanson states: "Considerable pressure was put on me as Superintendent of the North Pacific Conference by some constituents, to tell the congregations and pastors at Missoula (et al), that some of the things transpiring did not belong to the Covenant tradition and should, consequently, be stopped." He recalled his response was, in part, "How is it that some of us can tolerate any amount of spiritual coldness and lifelessness, but become excited and disturbed when churches manifest variations of the accepted modes of worship, but are... filled with the spirit and reveal in their personal lives and ministries the fruits of the spirit?" Private letter from Hanson, March 24, 1978.

54. DS interview, April 3, p. 14. This is confirmed by John Page, Sr., Board of Deacons, "Annual Report," 1970, Records.

55. DS interview, April 3, p. 14.

56. "While seeking to resist the opposition and criticisms of the minority, as Dan will recall, I also prayerfully and earnestly counseled him and his supporters to avoid extremes, and keep everything in balance." Hanson, March 24, 1978. He stated concern was expressed by some to him about the wisdom of retaining DS' licensure, Hanson could not recall pressure upon him to recommend the license not be renewed. "If I seemed to communicate that possibility to Pastor Simmons my doing so was probably motivated by my concern that if things were not kept balanced there might be those who would question the advisability of continuing to provide ministerial credentials." Hanson, April 25, 1978.

57. DS interview, April 3, p. 14.

58. Ibid.

59. "Special Meeting of All Church Boards," June 23, 1970, Records.

60. Private conversation with Viola Bretz, Missoula, MT, April, 1978.

61. DS interview, April 3, p. 5.

62. Anderson interview, p. 5.

63. Letter from Earl M. VanDerVeer, Paul W. Anderson, and Ralph P. Hanson, to Pastor Simmons, Chairman McChesney, Members and Friends, Evangelical Covenant Church, Missoula, MT, July 7, 1970. Both Anderson and VanDerVeer have confirmed the visit and the conflict over which they presided. Neither was very committal about the dynamics of the incident. Private letter, Earl VanDerVeer, April 5, 1978; private letter, Paul Anderson, April 4, 1978. DS noted that a few years later Anderson wrote him about pastoring an "experimental" church in Illinois, but he declined. To him this reflected a more positive reception by Anderson, than what he experienced in Missoula, June, 1970. DS, private conversation, April 1978.

64. Private conversation with H. L. McChesney, Missoula, May, 1978.

65. In response to a question that she once recalled some people wanted to "break" DS through financial withdrawal, Ethel said, "they felt that if they pulled all their families and their money out that the church would fall flat...they figured that when he left, then they would come back. But he didn't go, he just stayed and the church grew." Southern interview, p. 4.

DS said that John Page, Sr. told him that several dissidents came to him and said they would stop giving "and bring the judgement of God upon the situation." DS interview, April 3, p. 14.

66. "Congregational Meeting," Nov. 29, 1970, Records.

67. "Congregational Meeting," Jan. 31, 1971, Records.

68. Pastoral Relations Commission, Superintendents' Council, et. al., open letter to Evangelical Covenant congregations, viz. consultation at Covenant Harbor, Lake Geneva, Wisc., September 23-24, 1970, Records.

69. While the growth of the Charismatic Renewal vis-a-vis Christian communities has gained notoriety in the seventies, one dimension has been too little emphasized, which is the useful correspondence between radical evangelicalism and the charismatic renewal. This was discussed in several articles of the Post-American. The evangelical theologian, Clark H. Pinnock, discussed this issue in "Charismatic Renewal for the Radical Church," Post-American, Vol. 4/2 (February, 1975), pp. 16-21. He began:

> "There are two renewal movements gaining momentum and creating widespread impact in the evangelical churches and across the face of the entire Christian community today, both with deep biblical roots and powerful appeal. They are the charismatic movement and the renewal of a radical prophetic consciousness...Both of these renewal movements are responding to important biblical themes, the one to the outpouring of the Spirit as a mark of the Christian era, and the other to a concern for discipleship and social justice basic to the message of Jesus and the prophets...the two movements share a common biblical ground... The dialogue (between the two movements) must happen because both...will be abortive if it does not." pp. 16-17.

Strong overtures for developing that dialogue, especially with the more socially conscious Catholic participants in the Charismatic Renewal, by the Sojourners fellowship, began in 1974, but a deadlock occurred with the viewpoint of the leadership of the Word of God Community, Ann Arbor, MI toward women's biblical role. See Michaelson interview, p. 1. However, this has developed with other communities around the country, including the Episcopal Redeemer Church, in Houston, TX and the Community Covenant Church, Missoula, MT.

In the middle seventies the Missoula church became critical of the tendency of charismatic fellowships to be introspective and devoid of a social consciousness.

70. Cf. Mouw and Wolfe.

71. See Chap. VI, note #5. The number for the church is not great in comparison to other evangelical churches in the 1970's, especially those in urban areas. St. Luke's Episcopal Church grew to three Sunday services in the early 1970's, with 900-1000 in worship total. Other churches grew to over 2000 members, such as Christ Church of North Gate, in Seattle, a non-denominational pentecostal church.

72. This has been bluntly considered by Bob Sabbath in "The State: as Apostolic View," Post-American, (April-May, 1974):

> "Accomodation to the world system and the adoption of its myths blunts the moral sensitivity of the Christian. Perhaps the greatest cause of unbelief in our generation is the cultural conformity and consequent ethical insensitivity of the church...If the church is to recover its calling in the world, it must once again become alien, pilgrim, prophetic - a counter-cultural community of outsiders living out their discipleship in a process of continual disentanglement from values that dominate this age, sensitive to those cultural blind spots that mold its thinking and shape its actions to the standard that is passing away, proclaiming the great refusal to be squeezed into the world's pattern, pledging allegiance to the coming reign of God."

The struggle for especially the Radical Evangelicals has been the temptation to duplicate the defensiveness and ghettoism of the older evangelicals, in an attempt to avoid the molding of the secular and civil religious world-view. A large number of the leadership of radical evangelicals in the early seventies did have a keen sense of historical consciousness in that context. This is not, however, the place to explore in any detail the dynamics of radical evangelicalism, even as it relates to the Community Covenant Church.

73. This was from a sabbatical study by Lundquist, the President of Bethel Seminary in Minneapolis, in an essay entitled "Enduring Values of the Renewal," (Minneapolis, MN, 1976). His research project was inspired by Bloesch's two works, Centers of Christian Renewal (Philadelphia, PA: United Church Press, 1964), and Wellsprings of Renewal (Eerdmans, 1974), both of which offer specific examples of this vision of active community life in the 1960's and 1970's.

The focus at the Missoula Covenant was intimacy in corporate life and spiritual nurture, as well as a wide-range of ministry for a small number of people. This corresponded to developments of various Radical Evangelical church-communities throughout the country, which placed a high premium upon outreach ministries and social action (though most of them came from essentially a non-traditional base). These included

the Church of the Savior, which has been in existence for almost thirty years, and the smaller community of the Sojourners, (which publishes the magazine by the same name), both in Wash., D. C. Missoula Covenant developed a wide range of ministries, including: a group home for developmentally, or mentally retarded; a natural good store; a gourmet restaurant; an elementary school; helped establish and participate in an ecumenical civic free food and clothing mission for poor people, the Poverello House; rest home visitation; mission teams to other cities; and a circus-mime troupe.

The Missoula Covenant Church became a model of a different sort for the ECCA, taking issue with the favored concepts of particularly homogeneous church growth (which only caters to people of basically like-minded ethnic and cultural backgrounds). The church was selected, in 1974, to be one of ten random local congregations surveyed in the ECCA, which was designed to formulate the broad range of beliefs, attitudes, and values within Covenant churches. The answers of the ten churches' members would provide a cross-representation, from which the ECCA could ascertain areas of need and concern. The Missoula church, which was #5 in the profile, exhibited a theologically balanced and interpersonally stable church-community. Cf. David Noreen, "A Profile of the Covenant Church, with Implications for Future Direction," Covenant Quarterly, (August, 1977), pp. 21-37; and the specific tabulations, in Church Profile; The Evangelical Covenant Church of America, Category III (Chicago, 1976).

Other good reflections about this approach include: W. Graham Pulkingham's personal story as an Episcopal priest in Houston, TX, Gathered for Power (NY: Morehouse-Barlow, Co., 1973), and the story of the transformation of his parish, in They Left Their Nets; a Vision for Community Ministry (M-B, 1973); Elizabeth O'Connor's story of the growth of the Church of the Savior, The New Community (NY: Harper & Row, 1976); Jim Wallis, "Self-Portrait of a Church in the City," Sojourners, Vol. 6/1 (January, 1977).

74. Bloesch, in Renaissance, p. 18 ff., has described dangerous tendencies historically in evangelicalism. These are: 1) development of civil religion, combining patriotism with Puritan ethic and "old-time religion"; 2) easy and instant salvation, shallow in repentance; 3) appearance of a "rationalistic biblicism," buttressing faith with formal logis and empiricism; 4) joining with an inherrent anti-theological bias, bordering on bibliolatry; 5) ghettoism, interiorizing piety, isolated from critical contemporary issues; 6) defensiveness against the world, even fellow evangelicals who differ; 7) cultural hermeneutics, eg. reason over revelation; arid traditionalism, absolutizing attitudes; 8) synergism, especially reliance upon conversion techniques.

The political implications have been addressed by Richard Pierard, The Unequal Yoke: Evangelical Christianity & Political Conservatism (J. B. Lippencott, 1970), p. 39:

> "The danger of the Unequal Yoke with political conservatism is that it distorts the relationship of evangelical

> Christianity to contemporary American culture. The church has allowed itself to become so identified with the upper and middle classes that it is rapidly losing the opportunity to communicate the Gospel effectively to the lower classes and minority groups. Further, many 'over thirty' evangelicals are finding it difficult to influence their own children because young people quickly recognize the difference between theological profession and actual deeds."

A most direct and searing castigation of the civil religious tendency in American evangelicalism is William Stringfellow's An Ethic for Christians and Other Aliens in a Strange Land (Word Books, 1973). Cf. Helmut Thielicke, Theological Ethics, Vol. II: Politics (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1969) p. 627 ff.

75. The holistic dimension has been succinctly articulated by John Perkins, a black pastor, whose Voice of Calvary Church has created a radically alternative environment, especially for poor blacks (but also whites) in Mendenhall and Jackson, Mississippi. He stated, in "A Strategy for Change," Post-American , Vol. 4/6 (June-July, 1975), that:

> "Evangelism creates the committed people, the concern for the needs of people, and the broad community base from which to launch social action. Social action fleshes out the Lordship of Christ, reaches spiritual needs through felt needs, and results in developing an indigenous economic base and political encounter. With time, the visible result of all three is community development."

He further pointed out the dynamics of continuous renewal. "For Voice of Calvary it is an ongoing church, health center, tutorial school, and other programs which draw people and are by nature evangelistic. The cycle reinforces itself."

For the broader implications of the clash of the evangelical counter-culture with the older, established evangelical sub-culture in the 1970's, cf. Jim Wallis, Agenda for a Biblical People (NY: Harper & Row, 1976); and J. W. Jones "The Practice of Peoplehood," Sojourners, (May, 1977), pp. 5-10.

Some important theological implications have been drawn by Pinnock, in "An Evangelical Theology of Human Liberation," Sojourners, Vol. 5/2,3 (February-March, 1976).

CONCLUSION

> "Let all bitterness, wrath, anger, clamor, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice: And be kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you." (Ephesians 4.31,32)

The conflict was over. The dissident members left the Covenant Church, unable to contain the direction and content of the renewal. In the years that followed they gradually scattered. The church continued to develop and prosper with its new, Charismatic majority. It is important to understand that its "prosperity" was not so much in a successful drive to gain a large membership, but in developing a vitality in Christian life, which sought not isolation from or competition with other local churches. The church came to represent many of the positive characteristics of neo-pentecostalism, in that it did not embrace the cultural baggage and schismatic doctrinal clutter of classic pentecostalism. Also representative was the fact that the Charismatic experience tended to increase congregational involvement in the existing local church.[1.]

Much of the controversy focused upon the issue of speaking-in-tongues, which missed the depth of the Charismatic dimension in Christian life. The United Presbyterian report, issued in 1970, observed that too often glossolalia was dramatized as a freak phenomenon, and that this perception had been based upon "a false assumption present in previous reports of other denominations."[2.] This was a surface concern at the Missoula Covenant Church, which belied the deeper concerns about control of the church and the invasion of "barbarian" youth.

The controversy, beyond the issue of pentecostalism involved

different understandings of the Christian life and the nature of the Church which corresponded to countless controversies throughout the history of Christianity. In many ways the conservative reaction paralled that of the fundamentalists who were threatened by the theological openness of professors at North Park Seminary in 1927,[3.] (though many of the Charismatics were otherwise as theologically conservative as their counterparts). That earlier conflict, which was more a victory for the progressives, was fought in a seminary and not in a local congregation. The outcome in Missoula, which was a rebuff for the established power structure, was a departure from the result in most local churches in preceeding decades. Indeed, it stands in contrast to the outcome for Dennis Bennett and the neo-pentecostal Episcopaleans at St. Mark's Church in Van Nuys ten years earlier.[4.]

Yet, the outcome, and the response of the denominational leadership, exemplified a new trend which characterized the assimilation of neo-pentecostals into the historic denominations.[5.] This response reflected a more mature and open-minded attitude by denominational leaders. We will need, however, the perspective of a future decade to guage the impact of such actions upon the course of Christianity in America.

We have seen that much of the struggle which crystallized in the late sixties was a result of the power given the laity in the church boards through the congregational system.[6.] The pastor was largely at the mercy of the board of deacons, and was far outnumbered when attempting to introduce a new measure divergent from convention. If board action gave approval, most innovations still had to be approved by congregational action, which later could be rescinded. Thus, the exercise of the congregational system was awkward, slow, and inherently

antagonistic to change. Harvey Cox said, in 1967, that,

> In Protestantism, activist ministers must often contend with the socially conservative laymen who sit on the boards that rule the churches...it is often where lay control is most powerful that the opposition to social action has been most vociferous. 7.

Though Cox was speaking about social action, his remarks are applicable to the Missoula church, especially when it involved outreach to the socially unacceptable youth. However, this history also exhibited a different result than the retardation of innovation. It should be observed that much of the process for renewal we have examined in this church is similar to the struggles for change and growth within an administrative board of a business corporation, labor union, or political party.

This is not to say that the cause of conflict and power struggle was simply the fault of a congregational model. On the contrary, it was the consequence of dictatorial ecclesiastical authority which led to the adoption of the congregational polity by many churches in America, including the Swedish Covenanters. Yet, it is worthwhile to note the pastoral weakness of the congregational structure, as evidenced by the study of this congregation.

George Tavard, in his history of ecumenism, has stated:

> It is always hard for precursors to give an account of the direction they are unconsciously following. But it is always relatively easy for latecomers to analyze after the event the tendencies which have blossomed." 8.

This was true of the church renewal at the Missoula Covenant Church. Renewal seemed to occur in a shape far different from that which was planned or expected. Further, the renewal even thwarted the expectations and designs of most of those involved, especially the leadership.

With hindsight, however, we have been able to perceive tendencies and their outcomes, and most important see how the local renewal fit into the larger context of American Evangelicalism. It is very important for us to see this local renewal as a part of an historical continuum, and not an isolated aberration.

This study has mostly focused upon the conflict which resulted from renewal and general changes in church thought. The study of church history and the development of religious ideas are dependent upon the study of the conflicts surrounding them. To isolate conflict from the history of ideas only stunts our perception of the depths of human motives and even our understanding of the nature of beliefs, which is the source of all human conflicts. When study of historical thought incorporates conflict we have an important tool with which to study the beliefs retained in customs, ideologies, and human institutions.

> "Where do the conflicts and disputes among you originate? Is it not your self-centered desires that make war within your members? What you desire you do not obtain, and so you resort to murder. You envy and you cannot acquire, so you quarrel and fight...O you unfaithful ones, are you not aware that love of the world is enmity to God?...For it is written, 'God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble.'"
>
> James 4.1-6, selected.

FOOTNOTES

Conclusion

1. Quebedeaux, Charismatics, p. 165. This information was gathered from other reports which emerged in the 1970's.

2. Ibid., p. 164.

3. See above, Chapter II.

4. Bennett, Nine O'Clock, Ch. 7, pp. 48 ff.

5. Quebedeaux, Charismatics, pp. 164-165. This has been born out by the embrace of the Charismatic element in almost all mainline Protestant churches, as well as the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches. There has been widespread theological support, which Quebedeaux, as well as others, discusses. The Presbyterian report, 1970, affirmed the neo-pentecostal movement because of what it perceived as the serious employment of exegetical and psychological evidence from those within and without of the movement.

6. See Appendix and examine the laity-clergy relationship in the structure. The constitutional structure at the Missoula Covenant Church remained basically unchanged well into the 1970's, when some serious changes were initiated by congregational action.

7. Harvey Cox, "Revolt in the Church," Playboy (January, 1967), p. 209.

8. George Tavard, Two Centuries of Ecumenism (Notre-Dame, Ind.: Fides Publishers Assoc./Mentor-Omega, 1960), p. 18.

APPENDIX

Translation of the Constitution for the Swedish Congregational Church, Missoula, MT. (circa 1899).
Translated by S. Bylund, February 21, 1978, from the Pilgrim Register, pp. 70-76 ff.

Article I: The name of this Assembly has been decided to be the Swedish Congregationalist Assembly of Missoula, Montana.

Article II: This assembly proclaims God's word, Old and New Testament, Holy Script, as the only and almighty rule for faith, doctrine and conduct. Ps. 98.5, 119, 105; II Tim. 3.15-17; II Peter 1.19-21; Luke 1. 1-4; I Jn. 1.1-3; Gal. 1.8.

Article III: About the deeds of the Assembly and its Funds.

Since this Assembly has been built through an association of Christians not only to one another's edification, discipline and health, but to work for the widening of the Kingdom of God. May she fulfil this heavenly calling through using the different gifts God gives in the Spirit's unity; and then use the funds that He has given for Her edification: namely, the Word, the Baptism and the Communion. Mt. 28.19-20; Eph. 4.3-15; I Cor. 11.23-26.

Article IV: Selection of Members (I Cor. 14.10)

Only those who have confessed that they have come to their changed state of mind - that is to God and to the belief on our Lord Jesus Christ - and are, as children or elders, baptised to Him in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; and who accept the constitution of the Assembly: They will be accepted as members.

1. Application for membership should be turned in to any of the elders or the deacons of the Assembly who should achieve careful knowledge of their spiritual state of being. Those who have applied, and through voting become members, will be accepted at any of the ordinary meetings of the Assembly, or at the celebration of communion. When they also will submit to the Assembly a confession about the mercy God has given to them, then they will be welcomed by the Assembly. Nobody can be accepted in the Assembly if any of the members of the Assembly will vote against him. If so, the latter must, on God's word, and on factual evidence, give founding reasons for it.

2. If a member would move to another place, he should in advance, let this be known to the president of the Assembly. He should write a letter of recommendation if so desired. If a member moves to another place, or in some other way avoids the community

of the Assembly, and does not let it be known what he is doing, he will be evicted from the Assembly after six months.

Article V: How to deal with Members Who do not follow the Rules of the Assembly

About this, the Lord Jesus gives the best rule in Matthew 18:15-18 where it says: _____

If a member who has been excluded from the Assembly again decides to re-unite with the Assembly he shall be accepted if he truly desires in heart and soul and life and living to confess that he has abandoned the sin. Jn. 20.23; I Thes. 5.14; II Thes. 3.6-14-15; I Cor. 5.7-13.

Complaints about a Preacher (or Teacher) will not be accepted if not based on evidence of two or three witnessess. If he, unfortunately, in living and teaching will have gone wrong, the board of directors of the Assembly, will tell him so in love. If this will not teach him what to do, the cause will be presented to the Assembly and decided according to the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament. If he would be found unworthy of the evangelistic office, he will be excluded from the same. I Ti. 5-19-20; 3.1-8; Titus 1.5-10; I Pe. 5.1-5.

Article VI: The Servants of the Assembly

While the Assembly will confess the equality between all the members of the Assembly considering rights and duties, it shall though, in order to maintain order and love within itself, use certain servants according to forthcoming needs.

Within the Assembly, there should be an Elder who must be a servant and help to the Preacher, to give care on earth, and at the absence of the Preacher lead the praying and edification meetings. He should be a steady Christian, gifted with a sound sense of judgement. I Ti. 3.1-8; Acts 20.28.

1. A Chairman who will say the Word will act at ordinary as well as extra or additional Assembly meetings to decide inner as well as outer questions. He will keep order so that each one who has asked for the Word, will seek it in order. He must reject rude speech and attacks against another person's character

2. A Vice-Chairman who will take the place of the Chairman at his absence

3. A Secretary who must conduct careful notes over the decisions of the Assembly at its ordinary and extra-ordinary meetings

4. A Treasurer who must receive all the incoming money to the Assembly; and again, pay them after the decisions of the Assembly. He will conduct careful computations of all the incomes

and expenses, and make a report at each quarter meeting.

5. Trustees will be chosen or elected according to the Laws of the State. They will be responsible for the finances of the Assembly; see that its property will not be lost, but kept in good condition. They don't have the right to lend money or to lend the property of the Assembly without having asked for permission from the Board of Directors of the Assembly, or make any other transactions without its consent. They must, one for all and all for one, be responsible to the Assembly for the Ministry of the finances of the Assembly

6. The Assembly may choose Deacons all according to forthcoming needs. The Deacons should be chosen for service and health to the Assembly Teachers and Elders, and will also care for the sick and the poor

The Board of Directors of the Assembly should often get together and consult each other and pray together about the success and development of the Assembly.

Article VII: How to Deal with Elections of Servant

1. Election of Servants will take place at a meeting of the Assembly that has legally been announced by the Chairman or the Secretary

2. The Election will take place in the following way:

   a. Candidates will be nominated through an open election among the Members for each office. Those who in order have received most votes will be Candidates

   b. Thereafter the formal election will take place. The one, or those among the Candidates who received the most votes, will be considered elected. The election in both cases will take place through closed voting (secret ballot)

3. If any of the Servants in one way or another resign, the Assembly will, as soon as possible, select somebody to take his place.

Article VIII: About Meetings of the Assembly

The edification meetings and business meetings of the Assembly may be held at times as the Assembly decides for itself. The Chairman, after consulting the rest of the Board of Directors, may decide to hold an Assembly meeting at any time.

Article IX:

If the Assembly should be dissolved - from which, may God save us - the property of the Assembly will belong to those who adhere to the constitution of the Assembly.

Article X: Suggestions to Changes or Additions to this Constitution

Suggestions to changes or additions to this Constitution will not be received except at the yearly meeting of the Assembly, and will take at least two-thirds of the majority.

Articles II and IX of this Constitution cannot be taken away or be changed. I John 8, 3.16, 4.11; Heb. 10.24-26, 13.7-9, 17.20-22; I Pe. 4.7-11; Rev. 3.11.

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